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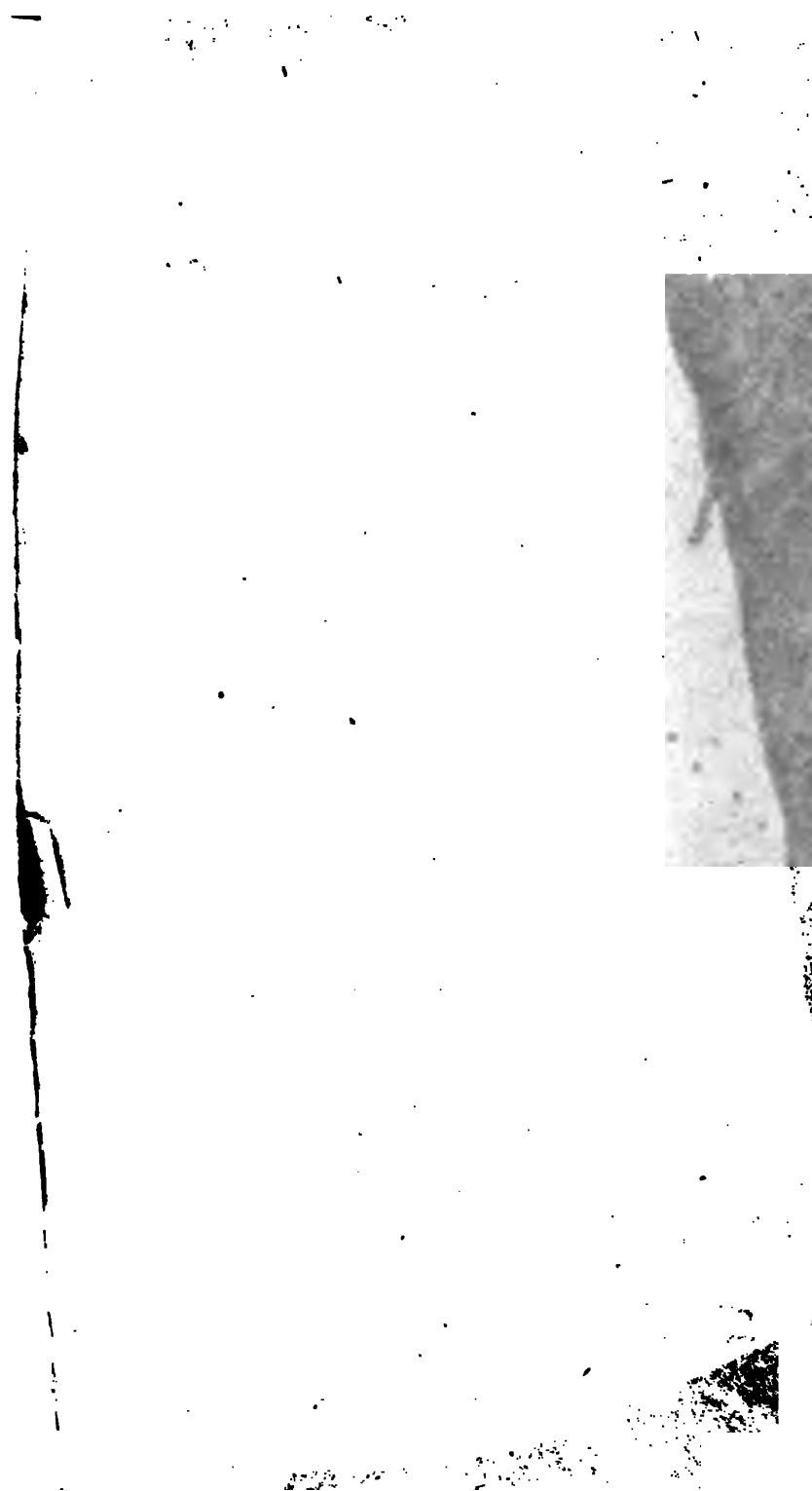




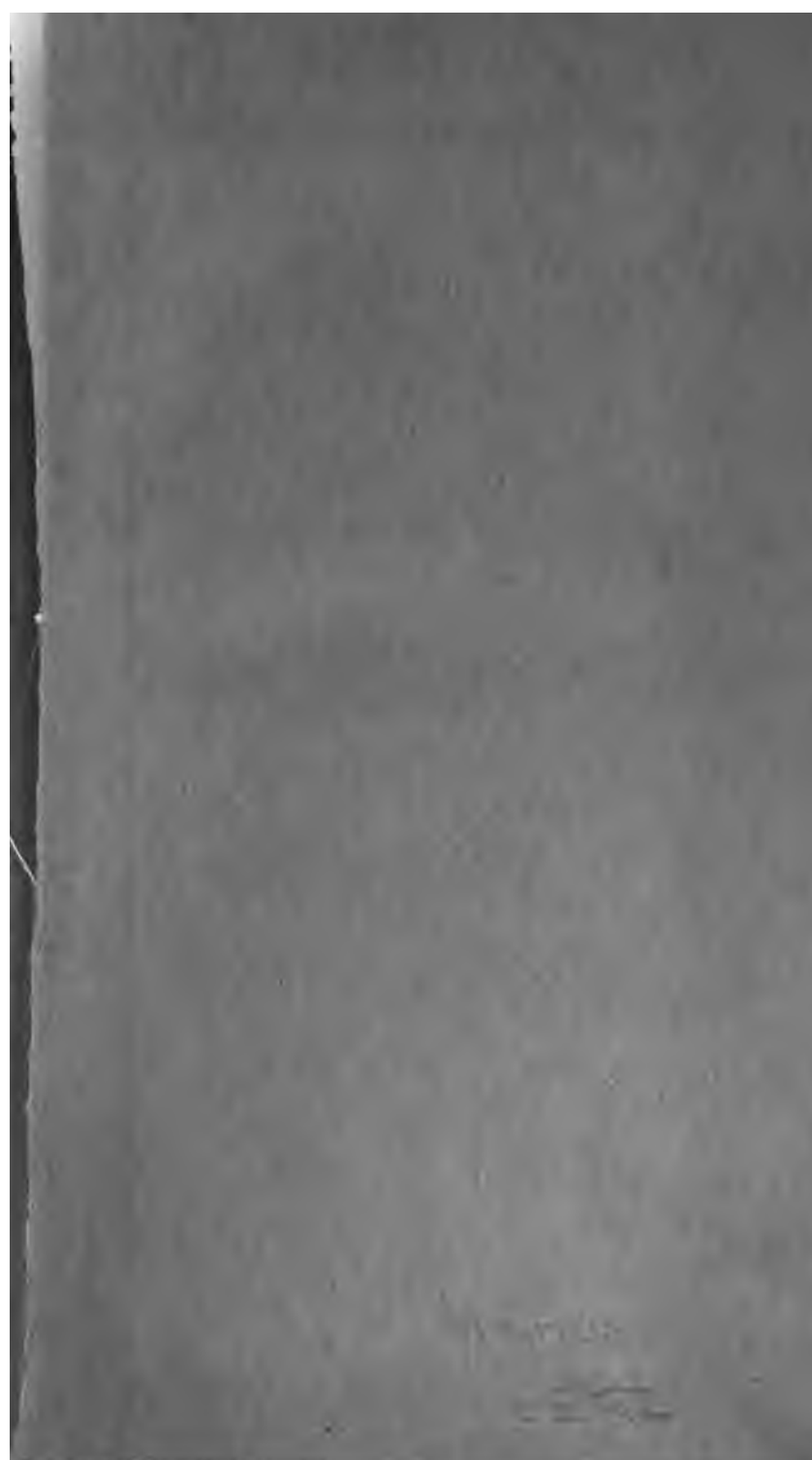


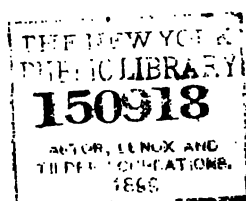






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## P R E F A C E.

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THE present is the age of political speculation; new and old systems of government are now at issue. The partisans of both are guilty of considerable error in the mode of conducting their respective causes: the defenders of the old systems are stubbornly bent upon not relaxing in the slightest particular, but rather upon winding up every spring of established prejudice and power to its utmost extent; the defenders of the new, if they be not too large in their demands, at least are much too impatient in their hopes of a change. It is necessary for the welfare of both that both should come nearer to each other. The favourers of establishments should be willing, were it only for their own safety, to favour a gradual and moderate improvement, and the pleaders for innovation should be satisfied, provided they kept their great object continually in view,



and obtained slow and partial, but uninterrupted approaches to it.

The turbulence of either party leads them to favour strong exertions and projects of violence. The tempest is brewing, the political horizon is overcast, and the waves are full of that restless commotion which precedes a storm. At so awful a crisis he is the common friend of mankind who endeavours, with the oil of truth, to assuage the fury that now rages upon the waters. It is truth only, calm and dispassionate truth, truth drawn from the bosom of philosophy, and not the wild declamation of party bigots, that can divert the calamities that already hover over the human race. There are many benevolent individuals aloof from the violence of this portentous broil, that are sensible of this, and benevolently devote their labours to the planting, through the medium of instruction, the seeds of future amity and consent.

But unfortunately in the present day truth has an unfashionable and ungracious odour. The vehement advocates of existing governments confess their enmity to impartial and unfettered discussion, and he who, with the purest intentions, should listen only to the voice

voice of reason, and repeat her dictates, must expect to be branded with the most opprobrious epithets.

It was this train of thinking which suggested the idea of the following compilation.

"I do not expect," said its author, "that  
"my countrymen should lend a long, a patient and laborious attention to any thing  
"my good-will might incline me to offer :  
"but if I cannot be heard for my own sake,  
"and speak in my own words, some defence will at least be paid to those illustrious writers, who, in all ages and in all  
"countries, have born testimony to the  
"great principles of public good." Accordingly in the present volume the reader will find scarcely a single word from the individual by whom it is now laid before him ; and the authorities are in most instances such, that no man can refuse to hear, and afterwards advance his pretensions to candour and liberality.

Several of the writers, such as Milton, Rousseau, Helvetius, and a writer of very modern standing, whose name will repeatedly occur, Godwin, are authors who are certainly favourable to the speculative principles, taken in their most sober and moderate

rate sense, upon which the French Revolution has been founded. Many others are adherents of a system diametrically opposite. It will not be unamusing to observe how authors of ability and research, however various may be their creed, consent in the support of some common and irresistible dogmas. It will not be un instructive to perceive, how truth, all powerful, all radiant truth, extends its illuminations to the bosoms of men, especially if they be men of the highest talents, who have devoted their services to the cause of error. If the compiler of this work had possessed more leisure, it is not to be doubted that he might have extracted a code of civil liberty and the most generous equality, entirely from passages of the most celebrated writers, and writers favouring the highest tone of authority, which have dropped from them unawares, inconsistently with their professed hypotheses, and, on that account, entitled to tenfold credit.

Let it then be recollected what is the nature and fair inference of such a collection as the present. It holds out an appeal to the most scrupulous doubter, or the most zealous adversary of public liberty. The doubter who would guard against the contagion of  
any

any temporary delusion, and the adversary who turns away indignant from insolent novelties, are each of them consulted in this case. We give to them opinions, not the immature product of temporary zeal, but that have stood the test of ages, that were conceived by the best men even in the worst of times, that have been sifted and bolted with the most vigorous examination, and that have risen triumphant over all opposition. The most supercilious devotee will hardly venture to treat such pleadings with neglect; he is compelled even to the "teeth and forehead," of his errors to give audience to the great masters of human intellect, and must ultimately digest their hard sayings and their untemperising assertions of truth with what appetite he may.

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### ERRATA.

Page 13, line 19. For "which his equal" read "which is  
"his equal."

— 42, line 29. For "the evil vanishes" read "half the  
"evil vanishes."

— 47, line 26. For "blessing" read "blessings."

— 66, line 26. For "illusion" read "allusion."

— 195, ————— Reverse lines 26 and 27.

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THE  
MANUAL OF LIBERTY,  
OR  
TESTIMONIES, &c.

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OF EQUITY OR JUSTICE.

IT behoves us in this treatise so to expound the subject of universal law and justice, as to compress the jurisprudence of any particular nation in a very narrow and limited compass. Our principal concern is with that justice, the nature of which is to be deduced from the nature of man, and with those laws by which civil society ought in all cases to be regulated.—Law, in its strict and genuine acceptation, is nothing else than the perfection of reason, that inherent sense of right which commands us what to do and what to avoid. Reason, when properly unfolded and matured in the human mind, is what I understand by law.

CICERO.

*De Legibus, lib. 1. c. 17, 18.*

LAW thus explained, is the fruit of no human invention, is the decree of no nation or country; but is that eternal something to whose unerring dictates of command or prohibition the whole world



world should bend. Thus among all laws, that which is first and last is the divine and omnipresent mind, according to whose reason every thing is, or is forbidden to be. The image and mirrour in which this law is reflected to us, is that innate sense of morality which the gods have bestowed upon mankind, that reason and judgment of the Wise Man which is all sufficient both to direct and to deter.

*Ib., lib. ii. cb. 8.*

Reason is a principle derived to us from communication with the great All, urging us to virtue, and irresistibly recalling us from crime. It does not then begin to be law when it is first written by the hand of man, but was so from its earliest origin, that origin being of equal date with the universal mind. Wherefore the true and primordial law, fitted to direct us in all things, is the right reason of the Omnipotent Creator.

*Ib. cb. 104.*

Of what avail is it that many things have by many nations been decreed pregnant with calamity and evil? These are no more entitled to the name of laws, than the regulations upon which robbers should determine in their unhallowed consultations. In like manner, as every thing is not entitled to the appellation of medicine, that an unskilful and impudent quack may prescribe, so neither is that a law to which a mistaken people may annex their sanction. Law, therefore, is that pure and original distinction of just and unjust, which is drawn from the original and parent nature, and which is the

the criterion, according to which human laws are to be modelled, if they really either punish the bad or protect the good.

*Ib. cb. 13.*

THE phrase of the chartered rights of *men* is full of affectation. The rights of *men*, that is to say, the natural rights of mankind, are indeed sacred things; and if any public measure is proved mischievously to affect them, the objection ought to be fatal to that measure, even if no charter at all could be set up against it. If these natural rights are farther affirmed and declared by express covenants, if they are clearly defined and secured against chicane, against power and authority, by written instruments and positive engagements, they are in a still better condition. They partake not only of the sanctity of the object so secured, but of that solemn public faith itself, which secures an object of such importance. Indeed this formal recognition, by the sovereign power, of an original right in the subject, can never be subverted but by rooting up the radical principles of government, and even of society itself. The charters which we call by distinction *great*, are public instruments of this nature; I mean the charters of King John and King Henry the Third. The things secured by these instruments may, without any deceitful ambiguity, be very fitly called the *Chartered Rights of Men*.

These charters have made the very name of charter dear to the heart of every Englishman.— But there may be, and there are charters, not

only different in nature, but formed on principles the *very reverse* of those of the great charter. Of this kind is the charter of the East India Company. *Magna Charta* is a charter to restrain power, and to destroy monopoly. Political power and commercial monopoly are *not* the rights of men; and the rights to them derived from charters, it is fallacious and sophistical to call the chartered rights of men. These chartered rights (to speak of such charters and of their effects in terms of the greatest possible moderation) do at least suspend the natural rights of mankind at large; and in their very frame and constitution are liable to fall into a direct violation of them.

BURKE.

*Speech on Mr. Fox's East India Bill, p. 6. 7.*

By moral equality I understand the propriety of applying one unalterable rule of justice to every case that may arise. This cannot be questioned but upon arguments that would subvert the very nature of virtue. "Equality," it has been affirmed, "will always be an unintelligible fiction, so long as the capacities of men shall be unequal, and their pretended claims have neither guarantee nor sanction by which they can be enforced." But surely justice is sufficiently intelligible in its own nature, abstracted from the consideration whether it be or be not reduced into practice. Justice has relation to beings endowed with perception, and capable of pleasure and pain. Now it immediately results from the nature of such beings, independently of any arbitrary institution, that pleasure is agreeable,

agreeable, and pain odious ; pleasure to be desired, and pain to be obviated. It is therefore just and reasonable that such beings should contribute, so far as it lies in their power, to the pleasure and benefit of each other. Among pleasures, some are more exquisite, more unalloyed, and less precarious than others. It is just that these should be preferred.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, b. 2. ch. iv. p. 106.*

WE are obliged to act, so far as our power reacheth, towards the good of the whole community. And he who doth not perform the part assigned him towards advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only an useless, but a very mischievous member of the public ; because he takes his share of the profit, and yet leaves his share of the burthen to be borne by others, which is the true principal cause of most miseries and misfortunes in life.

No man ought to look upon the advantages of life, such as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a trust which God hath deposited with him, to be employed for the use of his brethren.

The poor beggar hath a just demand of an alms from the rich man ; who is guilty of fraud, injustice and oppression, if he does not afford relief according to his abilities.

If we could all be brought to practise the duty of subjecting ourselves to each other, it would

very much contribute to the general happiness of mankind. For this would root out envy or malice from the heart of man ; because you cannot envy your neighbours strength, if he makes use of it to defend your life, or carry your burthen ; you cannot envy his wisdom, if he gives you good counsels ; nor his riches, if he supplies you in your wants.

SWIFT.

*Sermon on Mutual Subjection.*

IN cases of right and wrong, we ought not to know either relation or friend.

RICHARDSON.

*Sir Ch. Grandison, vol. 3. let. 19.*

*Davy.* I do beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Woncot against Charles Perkes o' the hill.

*Shallow.* There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor ; that Visor is an arrant knave, on my knowledge.

*Davy.* I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir ; but yet, God forbid, sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years ; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but very little credit with your worship. The knave is my honest friend, sir ; therefore I beseech your worship let him be countenanced.

SHAKESPEAR.

*Second Part King Henry IV. act v.*

To

TO ONE, who told Themistocles, he would govern the Athenians admirably, provided he would take care to avoid partiality, he replied, "may I never sit on a tribunal where my friends will not meet with more favour and respect than strangers."

PLUTARCH.

*Life of Aristides.*

IT may be doubted whether Omnipotence itself is competent to alter the essential constitution of right and wrong: sure I am that such *things*, as you and I, are possessed of no such power.

BURKE.

*Speech at Bristol, p. 64.*

As I shall have frequent occasion to mention the word *right*, I wish to be clearly understood in my definition of it. There are various senses in which this term is used, and custom has in many of them afforded it an introduction contrary to its true meaning. We are so naturally inclined to give the utmost degree of force to our own case, that we call every pretension, however founded, *a right*; and by this means the term frequently stands opposed to justice and reason.

After Theodore was elected king of Corsica, not many years ago, by the mere choice of the natives, for their own convenience in opposing the Genoese, he went over into England, got himself into jail, and on his release therefrom, by the benefit of an act of insolvency, he surrendered up what he called *his* kingdom of Corsica, as a part of his personal property, for the use of his creditors;

some of whom may hereafter call this a charter; or by any other name more fashionable, and ground thereon what they may term *a right* to the sovereignty and property of Corsica. But does not justice abhor such an action, both in him and in them, under the prostituted name of a right, and must not laughter be excited whenever it is told?

A right, to be truly so, must be right in itself; yet many things have obtained the name of rights, which are originally founded in wrong. Of this kind are all rights by mere conquest, power, or violence. In the cool moments of reflection we are obliged to allow that the mode by which such a right is obtained, is not the best suited to that spirit of universal justice which ought to preside equally over all mankind. There is something in the establishment of such a right that we wish to slip over as easily as possible, and say as little about as can be. But in the case of a *right founded in right*, the mind is carried cheerfully into the subject, feels no compunction, suffers no distress, subjects its sensations to no violences, nor sees any thing in its way which requires an artificial smoothing.

*Public Good, p. 6. 7. By the Author of Common Sense.*

EQUALITY OF MANKIND.

WHAT is the race of mankind but one family,  
widely scattered upon the face of the earth? all  
men by nature are brothers.

FENELON.

*Telemachus, vol. 1. liv. xi.*

GOD has made of one blood all the nations of  
men.

NEW TESTAMENT,

*Acts xvii, 26.*

——— STRANGE is it, that our bloods,  
Alike of colour, weight and heat, pour'd out to-  
gether  
Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off  
In differences so mighty.

SHAKESPEARE.

*All's Well that Ends Well, act. 2.*

——— SEARCH we the secret springs,  
And backwards trace the principles of things;  
There shall we find, that when the world began,  
One common mass compos'd the mould of man;  
One paste of flesh on all degrees bestow'd,  
And kneaded up alike with moist'ning blood.  
The same almighty power inspir'd the frame  
With kindled life, and form'd the souls the same.  
The faculties of intellect and will,  
Dispens'd with equal hand, dispos'd with equal  
skill,  
Like liberty indulg'd with choice of good or ill.

Thus



Thus born alike, from virtue first began  
 The difference that distinguish'd man from man:  
 He claim'd no title from descent of blood,  
 But that which made him noble made him good.

DRYDEN.

*Sigismonda and Guiscardo.*

---

MAN o'er men

He made not lord : such title to himself reserving.

MILTON.

WHEN Tom, an' please your honour, got to the shop, there was nobody in it but a poor negro girl, with a bunch of white feathers slightly tied to the end of a long cane, flapping away flies—not killing them.—Tis a pretty picture, said my uncle Toby—she had suffered persecution, Trim, and had learnt mercy.

She was good an' please your honour, from nature as well as from hardships; and there are circumstances in the story of that poor friendless slut that would melt a heart of stone, said Trim; and some dismal winter's evening, when your honour is in the humour, they shall be told you with the rest of Tom's story, for it makes a part of it.

Then do not forget Trim, said my uncle Toby.

A negro has a soul, an' please your honour, said the Corporal (*doubtingly*)

I am not much versed, Corporal, quoth my Uncle Toby, in things of that kind; but I suppose God would not leave him without one any more than thee or me.

It

It would be putting one sadly over the head of another, quoth the Corporal.

It would so, said my Uncle Toby.—

Why then, an' please your honour, is a black wench to be used worse than a white one?

I can give no reason, said my Uncle Toby.— Only, cried the Corporal, shaking his head; because she has no one to stand up for her.

—'Tis that every thing, Trim, quoth my Uncle Toby, which recommends her to protection, and her brethren with her; it is the fortune of war which has put the whip into our hands now—where it may be hereafter, heaven knows! but be it where it will, the brave, Trim, will not use it unkindly.

—God forbid, said the Corporal.

Amen responded my Uncle Toby, laying his hand upon his heart.

STERNE.

*Tristram Shandy, vol. ix, ch. v.*

I SHOULD not like to have my enemy take a view of my mind when I am going to ask protection of any man; for which reason I generally endeavour to protect myself. But this going to Monsieur le duc de C \* \* \* was an act of compulsion; had it been an act of choice, I should have done it I suppose like other people.

How many plans of dirty address, as I went along, did my servile heart form! I deserved the Bastille for every one of them.

Then nothing would serve me, when I got within sight of Versailles, but putting words and sentences

Thus born alike, from virtue first began  
 The difference that distinguish'd man from man:  
 He claim'd no title from descent of blood,  
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How many plans of dirty address, as I went along, did my servile heart form! I deserved the Bastile for every one of them.

Then nothing would serve me, when I got within sight of Versailles, but putting words and sentences

sentences together to wreath myself into Monsieur le duc de C \* \* \* 's good graces.

Well, said I, I wish it well over!

—Coward again; as if man to man was not equal throughout the whole surface of the globe; and if in the field, why not face to face in the cabinet, too? And trust me, Yorick, whenever it is not so, man is false to himself, and betrays his own succour ten times where nature does it once.

STERNE.

*Sentimental Journey, vol. 2.*

---

A LORD

Oppos'd against a man is but a man..

RÔWE.

*Jane Shore, act. 2.*

ALL men having the same origin are of equal antiquity: nature has made no difference in their formation. Strip the nobles naked, and you are as well as they; dress them in your rags, and you in their robes, and you will doubtless be the nobles. Poverty and riches only discriminate betwixt you.

MACHIAVEL.

*History of Florence, b. 3.*

DURING the war, there was a contagious distemper at Breslaw, and a hundred and twenty persons were buried every day. A countess at this period said,—“Thank God, the *nobility* are spared, none “but the *vulgar* die.”—This is a picture of the thoughts of persons in power, who imagine themselves made up of atoms more precious than those which compose the bodies of the common people whom they oppress. Such has been the case in all ages.

ages. The progress of great monarchies is uniform. Scarcely any who have not suffered are acquainted with, or detest, oppression. The favourites of fortune, whom prosperity has benumbed, think that the miseries of the people are exaggerated, and that injustice is only mistake.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

*Correspondence with Voltaire, let. 309.*

THERE is no more inward value in the greatest emperor, than in the meanest of his subjects. His body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same or greater infirmities: His education is generally worse, by flattery, idleness, and luxury, and those evil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense, that his private personal interest, or pleasure, should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which his equal by nature.

SWIFT.

*Sermon on the Martyrdom of Charles I.*

MEN are not naturally opulent, courtiers, nobles, or kings. We come into the world naked and poor: we are all subject to the miseries of life.

THE rich have not better appetites than the poor, nor quicker digestion: the master has not longer arms or stronger than the servant; a great man is no taller than the meanest artizan.

ROUSEAU.

*Emile, liv. 3.*

ALL

are equal.

ALL civil distinctions disappear before a thinking being. He sees the same passions, the same ideas pervade the mind of the peer and the peasant, a gloss only is discernible in the language and appearance of the one, which the other does not possess. If any difference distinguish them, it is to the disadvantage of him who wears a mask.—The people show themselves as they are, and they are not amiable; the great know the necessity of disguising themselves; were they to exhibit themselves as they are, they would excite horror.

*Ib. liv. 4.*

---

*Thou art a lord, and nothing but a lord. SHAKESPEARE:*

IN the center of those islands, situated in the midst of the South Sea, lies one distant from the rest, and large beyond proportion. A descendant of one of the great men of this island, becoming a gentleman to so improved a degree as to despise the good qualities which had originally ennobled his family, thought of nothing but how to support and distinguish his dignity by the pride of an ignorant mind, and a disposition abandoned to pleasure. He had a house on the sea side, where he spent great part of his time in hunting and fishing; but he found himself at a loss in the pursuit of these important diversions, by means of a long slip of marsh land, overgrown with high reeds, that lay between his house and the sea.—Resolving at length, that it became not a man of his quality to submit to restraints in his pleasure

for

for the ease and convenience of an obstinate mechanic; and having often endeavoured in vain to buy out the owner, who was an honest poor basket-maker, and whose livelihood depended on working up the flags of those reeds in a manner peculiar to himself, the gentleman took advantage of a very high wind, and commanded his servant to burn down the barrier.

The basket-maker, who saw himself undone, complained of the oppression in terms more suited to his sense of the injury, than the respect due to the rank of the offender: and the reward this imprudence procured him was the additional injustice of blows and reproaches, and all kinds of insult and indignity.

There was but one way to a remedy, and he took it. For going to the capital with the marks of his hard usage upon him, he threw himself at the feet of the King, and procured a citation for his oppressor's appearance; who, confessing the charge, proceeded to justify his behaviour by the poor man's unmindfulness of the submission due from the vulgar to gentlemen of rank and distinction.

"But pray," replied the king, "what distinction of rank had the grandfather of your father, when, being a cleaver of wood in the palace of my ancestors, he was raised from among those vulgar you speak of, with such contempt, in reward of an instance he gave of his courage and loyalty in defence of his master? yet his distinction was nobler than yours: it was the  
"dis-



“ distinction of soul, not of birth; the superiority of worth not of fortune. I am sorry I have a gentleman in my kingdom who is base enough to be ignorant, that ease and distinction of fortune were bestowed on him but to this end, that, being at rest from all cares of providing for himself, he might apply his heart, head, and hands, for the public advantage of others.”

Here the king, discontinuing his speech, fixed an eye of indignation on a sullen resentment of mein which he observed in the haughty offender, who muttered out his dislike of the encouragement this way of thinking must give to the commonalty, who, he said, were to be considered as persons of no consequence in comparison of men who were born to be honoured.——“ Where reflection is wanting,” replied the king with a smile of disdain, “ men must find their defects in the pain of their sufferings.” “ Yanhumo,” added he, turning to a captain of his gallies, “ strip the injured and the injurer, and conveying them to one of the most barbarous and remote of the islands, set them ashore in the night, and leave them both to their fortune.”

The place in which they were landed was a marsh, under cover of whose flags the gentleman was in hopes to conceal himself, and give the slip to his companion, whom he thought it a disgrace to be found with. But the lights in the galley having given an alarm to the savages, a considerable body of them came down, and discovered in the morning

morning the two strangers in their hiding place. Setting up a dismal yell, they surrounded them, and advancing nearer and nearer with a kind of clubs, seemed determined to dispatch them, without sense of hospitality or mercy.

Here the gentleman began to discover, that the superiority of his blood was imaginary; for, between a consciousness of shame and cold, under the nakedness he had never been used to, a fear of the event from the fierceness of the savages approach, and the want of an idea whereby to soften or divert their asperity, he fell behind the poor sharer of his calamity; and with an unsinewed, apprehensive, unmanly sneakingness of mein, gave up the post of honour, and made a leader of the very man whom he had thought it a disgrace to consider as a companion.

The basket-maker, on the contrary, to whom the poverty of his condition had made nakedness habitual, to whom a life of pain and mortification represented death as not dreadful, and whose remembrance of his skill in arts, of which these savages were ignorant, gave him hopes of becoming safe, from demonstrating that he could be useful, moved with bolder and more open freedom; and having plucked a handful of flags, sat down without emotion, and making signs he would show them something worthy their attention, fell to work with smiles and noddings, while the savages drew near and gazed in expectation of the consequence.

It was not long before he had wreathed a kind of coronet of pretty workmanship, and rising, with respect approached the savage who appeared the chief, and placed it gently on his head ; whose figure under this new ornament so charmed his followers, that they threw down their clubs, and formed a dance of welcome and congratulation.

There was not one but showed the marks of his impatience to be made as fine as his captain ; so that the poor basket-maker had his hands full of employment : and the savages observing one quite idle, while the other was so busy in their service, took up arms in behalf of natural justice, and began to beat him.

The basket-maker's pity now effaced the remembrance of his sufferings. He arose, and rescued his oppressor, by making signs that he was ignorant of the art ; but might, if they thought fit, be usefully employed in waiting on the work, and fetching flags to his supply as fast as he should want them.

This proposition luckily fell in with a desire the savages expressed to keep themselves at leisure that they might croud round, and mark the progress of a work they took such pleasure in. They left the gentleman therefore to his duty in the basket-maker's service, considering him, from that time forward, as one who was, and ought to be treated as inferior to the artist.

Men, women and children, from all corners of the island, came in droves for coronets ; and setting the gentleman to work to gather boughs and poles,

poles, they made a fine hut to lodge the basket-maker ; and brought down daily from the country such provisions as they lived upon themselves ; but never offered the imagined servant any thing till his master had done eating.

Three months reflection in this mortified condition gave a new and just turn to our gentleman's mind ; insomuch, that lying awake one night, he thus confessed his error to the basket-maker : " I have been to blame," says he, " and wanted judgment to distinguish between accident and excellence. When I should have measured nature, I looked only at vanity. The preference which fortune gives is empty and imaginary ; and I perceive too late, that only things of use are naturally honourable. I am ashamed when I compare my malice with your humanity. But if the gods should please to call me to a reposition of my rank and happiness, I would divide all with you in atonement of my justly punished arrogance."

He promised, and performed his promise. For the king soon after sent the captain who landed them, with presents to the savages, and ordered him to bring them both back again. And it continues to this day a custom in that island, to degrade all gentlemen who cannot give a better reason for their pride, than that they were born to do nothing : on which occasion they usually cry out, *Send him to the Basket-Maker's.*

LONDON MAGAZINE,

for the year 1736.

THE following story used to be told by King George the First. About the year 1615, there was a nobleman in Germany, whose daughter was courted by another young lord. When he had made such progress in this affair, as is usual by the interposition of friends, the old lord had a conference with him, asking him, how he intended, if he married his daughter, to maintain her? He replied, equal to her quality. To which the father replied, that was no answer to his question; he desired to know, what he had to maintain her with? To which the young lord then answered, he hoped that was no question; for his inheritance was as public as his name. The old lord owned his possessions to be great, but still asked if he had nothing more secure than land, wherewith to maintain his daughter? The question was strange, but ended in this: that the father of the young lady gave his positive resolve, never to marry his daughter, though his heir, and would have two such great estates, but to a man that had a manual trade, by which he might subsist if drove from his country. The young lord was master of none at present, but rather than lose his mistress, he requested only a year's time, in which he promised to acquire one: in order to which, he got a basket-maker, the most ingenious he could meet with, and in six months became master of his trade of basket-making, with far greater improvements than even his teacher himself; and as a proof of his ingenuity, and extraordinary proficiency in so short a time,

time, he brought to his young lady a piece of workmanship of his own performance, being a white twig basket, which, for many years after, became a general fashion among the ladies by the name of *dressing baskets*, brought hither to England from Germany and Holland.

To complete the singularity of this relation, it happened some years after this nobleman's marriage, that he and his father-in-law, sharing in the misfortunes of the wars of the Palatinate, were drove naked out of their estates; and in Holland, for some years, did this young lord maintain both his father-in-law and his own family, by making baskets of white twigs, to such an unparalleled excellency as none could attain: and it is from this young German lord the Hollanders derive those curiosities, which are still made in the United Provinces, of twig work.

POSTLETHWAYT.

*Dictionary of Trade and Commerce. Introd. p. vii.*

*My child learn a trade! make my son a mechanic! consider, sir, what you advise.—I do, madam, I consider this matter better than you, who would reduce your child to the necessity of being a lord, a marquis or a prince, or perhaps one day or other to be less than nothing. I am desirous of investing him with a title that cannot be taken from him; that will in all times and places command respect, and I can tell you, whatever you may think of it, he will have fewer equals in this rank than in that he may derive from you.—*

Adapt the education of a man to his personal and not accidental abilities. Do you not see that by bringing him up only to fill one station, you make him unfit for every other, and that mere accident may render all the pains you have taken useless, or destructive to him? Is there a more ridiculous being on earth than a lord, become a beggar, and retaining in his misery the prejudice attached to his birth? Is there any thing more vile and contemptible, than a rich man become poor, sensible of the disgrace of poverty, and reduced to the lowest of the human species? The one hath no other resource than to turn common cheat, and the other servilely to put on a livery.

You place a dependence on the actual order of society, without thinking that order subject to unavoidable revolutions. The high may be reduced low, and the rich may become poor, and even the monarch dwindle into a subject. We certainly are approaching the crisis of human establishments, the age of political revolutions. Who can assure you what will be your lot? All that men have made, men may destroy. There are no characters indelible but those imprinted by nature; and nature never made man royal, noble, or rich. What then will become of the pupil you have educated to live only in splendour, when debased into indigence and meanness? What will become of a farmer of the revenues, whose soul delights in nothing but wealth, when reduced to want and beggary? How miserable must be the situation of that pampered helpless being,  
who,

who, destitute of every thing, is incapable of providing in the least for himself, and places all his satisfaction in things dependent on others. Happy is he who knows how to quit a rank that is quitting him, and to remain still a man in spite of fortune. Let others lavish what encomiums they please on the frantic behaviour of the vanquished monarch who wanted to bury himself alive in the ruins of his throne ; for my part, I hold him in contempt. It appears to me that his existence depended on his crown, stripped of which he was no longer any thing : but the monarch who can throw aside the robes of royalty, and be still himself, is then infinitely superior to a crown. From the rank of a king, which may be filled by a coward, a knave, or a fool, he rises to that of a man, which so few are able to fill with decency and dignity. Such a man may brave the vicissitudes of fortune, and will triumph over them : he owes nothing to any one but himself, and though destitute of all adventitious aid, is not therefore annihilated. How infinitely preferable in my eyes is the King of Syracuse, turned school-master at Corinth ; a King of Macedon become a notary at Rome ; to the unhappy Tarquin ignorant how to subsist without a kingdom ; to the heir of a race of kings become the sport of all who are brutal enough to exult in his misery, wandering from court to court in search of relief, and meeting on every side with nothing but mockery and insult, and all for want of knowing how to exercise any other employment than that



in which he had been educated, and which was no longer in his power.

ROUSSEAU.

*Emile, liv. 3.*

MEN excepted, no creature is esteemed beyond its proper qualities. We commend a horse for his strength and sureness of foot, not for his rich caparisons; a grey hound for his heels, not for his fine collar; a hawk for her wing, not for her gesses and bells. Why in like manner do we not value a man for what is properly his own? He has a superb train, a beautiful palace, so much credit, such a revenue: all these are about him, not in him. If you cheapen a horse you have him stripped of his housing-clothes, that he may appear naked and open to your eye. Why in giving your estimate of man do you prize him wrapped and muffled up? He then discovers nothing to you but such parts as are not in the least his own; and conceals those by which alone one may rightly judge of his worth. It is the value of the *blade* you inquire into, and not of the *scabbard*. You are to judge of him by himself, not by what he wears. As one of the ancients very pleasantly observed, Do you know why you repute him tall? You take into the account the height of his pattens, whereas the pedestal is no part of the statue. Measure him without his stilts, let him lay aside his revenues and his titles, let him present himself in his shirt, then examine if his body be sound and spritely, active, and disposed to form its function. What mind has he?

he? Is it beautiful, and capacious, and happily provided with all its faculties? Is it rich in what is its own, or in what it has borrowed? Has fortune no hand in the affair? That is what is to be examined, and by that are we to judge of the difference between man and man.

If we consider a peasant and a king, a nobleman and a vassal, a magistrate and a private individual, a rich man and a poor one, there appears a vast disparity, though they differ no more, as a man may say, than in their breeches.

In Thrace the king was distinguished from his people in a very pleasant and extraordinary way: he had a religion to himself, a God too all his own, and which his subjects were not to adore, viz. Mercury; while, on the other hand he disdained to have any thing to do with theirs, Mars, Bacchus, and Diana. And yet they are no other than pictures, that make no essential difference; for as you see actors in a play, representing the person of a duke or an emperor, upon the stage, and immediately after, in the tiring room, return to their true and original condition, of footmen and porters; so it is with the emperor, whose pomp so dazzles you in public; peep but behind the curtain, and you will see nothing more than an ordinary man.—Do fevers, gout, and the head-ach, spare him more than any one of us? When old age hangs heavy upon a prince's shoulders, can the yeomen of his guard ease him of the burthen? When terrified at the apprehension of death, can the lords of his bed-chamber secure him?

him? When jealousy, or any other caprice swims in his brain, can our fulsome compliments restore him to his good humour? The canopy embroidered with pearl and gold under which he lies, has no virtue to relieve fits of the cholic. At the first twitch of the gout, it is to much purpose to be called Sire, and your Majesty. Does he not forget his palaces and grandeur? All the real advantages of princes are common to them with other orders of men. It is for the Gods to mount winged horses and feed upon ambrosia: kings have no other sleep and no other appetite than we; their crowns neither defend them from the rain nor the sun. They are but men at the best, and if ill shaped from the birth, the empire of the universe cannot set them to rights. The flatterers of Alexander possessed him with the idea, that he was the son of Jupiter; but being one day wounded, and observing the blood stream from his wound, what say you now, said he, is not this of a crimson colour, and in all respects like the blood of a human being?

MONTAIGNE..

*Essays, b. 1. ch. 42.*

CANUTE, the greatest and most powerful monarch of his time, sovereign of Denmark and Norway, as well as of England, could not fail of meeting with adulation from his courtiers, a tribute which is liberally paid, even to the meanest and weakest princes. Some of his flatterers breaking out, one day, in admiration of his grandeur, exclaimed that every thing was possible for him; upon

upon which the monarch, it is said, ordered his chair to be set on the sea shore while the tide was rising ; and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. He feigned to sit some time in expectation of their submission ; but when the sea still advanced towards him, and began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the universe was feeble and impotent, and that power resided with one being alone, in whose hands were all the elements of nature ; who could say to the ocean, *Thus far shalt thou go and no farther* ; and who could level with his nod the most towering piles of human grandeur and ambition.

HUME.

*History of England, vol. i. p. 152.*

UNBOUNDED power and height of greatness  
give

To kings that lustre, which we think divine ;  
The wise who know them, know they are but men  
Nay sometimes weak ones too.

ROWE.

*Ambitious Step-Mother, Act. 2.*

COULD I forget I am a man, as thou art,  
Would not the winter's cold, or summer's heat,  
Sickness or thirst, and hunger, all the train  
Of nature's clamorous appetites, asserting  
An equal right in kings and common men,  
Reprove me daily ?

IDEM.

*Tamerlane, Act 2.*

HA Regan ! ha Goneril ! they flattered me like a dog, and told me I had white hairs in my beard, ere the black ones were there. To say, ay, and no, to every thing that I said—ay and no, too, was no good divinity. When the rain came to wet me once, and the wind to make me chatter ; when the thunder would not peace at my bidding ; there I found 'em, there I smelt 'em out. Go to, they are not men of their words : they told me I was every thing : 'tis a lie, I am not ague-proof.

SHAKESPEAR.

*Lear, Act. 4.*

COVER your heads, and mock not flesh and blood

With solemn rev'rence : throw away respect,  
Tradition, form, and ceremonious duty,  
For you have but mistook me all this while.  
I live on bread like you, feel want like you ;  
Taste grief, need friends, like you : subjected  
thus,  
How can you say to me I am a king ?

IDEM.

*Richard II. Act. III. Sc. 2.*

I CANNOT tell what you and other men  
Think of this life ; but for my single self,  
I had as lief not be, as live to be  
In awe of such a thing as I myself.  
I was born free as Cæsar ; so were you ;  
We both have fed as well ; and we can both  
Endure the winter's cold as well as he.  
For once upon a raw and gusty day,

The

The troubl'd Tyber chafing with his shores,  
 Cæsar says to me, Dar'st thou, Cassius, now  
 Leap in with me into this angry flood,  
 And swim to yonder point ?—Upon the word,  
 Accoutr'd as I was, I plunged in,  
 And bid him follow ; so indeed he did.  
 The torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it  
 With lusty sinews ; throwing it aside,  
 And stemming it with hearts of controversy.  
 But ere we could arrive the point propos'd,  
 Cæsar cried, Help me, Cassius, or I sink !  
 I, as Eneas, our great ancestor,  
 Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder  
 The old Anchises bear ; so from the waves of  
 Tyber

Did I the tired Cæsar. And this man  
 Is now become a God ; and Cassius is  
 A wretched creature, and must bend his body,  
 If Cæsar carelessly but nod on him.

He had a fever when he was in Spain,  
 And when the fit was on him, I did mark  
 How he did shake. 'Tis true, this God did  
 shake ;

His coward lips did from their colour fly,  
 And that same eye whose bend does awe the  
 world,

Did lose its lustre ; I did hear him groan :  
 Ay, and that tongue of his, that bade the  
 Romans

Mark him, and write his speeches in their books,  
 Alas ! it cried, Give me some drink, Titinius,  
 As a sick girl ! Ye Gods, it doth amaze me,  
 A man

“ distinction of soul, not of birth; the superiority of worth not of fortune. I am sorry I have a gentleman in my kingdom who is base enough to be ignorant, that ease and distinction of fortune were bestowed on him but to this end, that, being at rest from all cares of providing for himself, he might apply his heart, head, and hands, for the public advantage of others.”

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The place in which they were landed was a marsh, under cover of whose flags the gentleman was in hopes to conceal himself, and give the slip to his companion, whom he thought it a disgrace to be found with. But the lights in the galley having given an alarm to the savages, a considerable body of them came down, and discovered in the morning

As sacred, glorious, high, invincible,  
 The deputy of heaven, and in that  
 Omnipotent; with all false titles else,  
 Coin'd to abuse our frailty, though compounded,  
 And by the breath of sycophants apply'd,  
 Cure not the least fit of an ague in us.  
 We may give poor men riches; confer honours  
 On undeservers; raise or ruin such  
 As are beneath us; and with this puffed up  
 Ambition would persuade us to forget  
 That we are men. but he that sits above us,  
 And to whom, at our utmost rate, we are  
 But pageant properties, derides our weakness:  
 In me, to whom you kneel, 'tis most apparent.  
 Can I call back yesterday, with all their aids  
 That bow unto my sceptre? or restore  
 My mind to that tranquility and peace  
 It then enjoyed?

MASSINGER.

*Emperor of the East, Act. 5.*

*King.* I wish to see my daughter, shew her me;  
 I do command you all, as you are subjects,  
 To shew her me: What, am I not your king?  
 If ay, then am I not to be obeyed?

*Dion.* Yes, if you command things possible and  
 honest.

*King.* Things possible and honest! Hear me,  
 thou—

Thou traitor, that darest confine thy king to things  
 Possible and honest; shew her me!  
 Or let me perish, if I cover not all Sicily with  
 blood.

*Dion.*



*Dion.* Indeed I cannot unless you tell me where she is.

*King.* ——— Go bring her me,  
And set her before me ! tis the king:  
Will have it so, whose breath can still the winds,  
Uncloud the sun, charm down the swelling sea,  
And stop the floods of heaven : speak, can it not?

*Dion.* No.

*King.* No ; cannot the breath of kings do this?

*Dion.* No, nor smell sweet itself, if once the lungs

Be but corrupted—

*King.* Is it so? Alas! what are we kings?  
Why do you gods place us above the rest ;  
To be serv'd, flatter'd, and ador'd, till we  
Believe we hold in our hands your thunder,  
And when we come to try the power we have,  
There's not a leaf shakes at our threatnings?

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER..

*Philaster, Act IV.*

WE shall all lie alike in our graves.

*English Proverb.*

IN the grave there is no distinction of persons,  
which made Diogenes say, when searching a charnel  
house, that he could find no difference betwixt the  
skull of king Philip and another man's.

PALMER.

*Collection of Aphorisms, p. 319.*

*Clown.* HERE's a skull now has lain you i'the  
earth twenty-three years.

*Hamlet.* Whose was it?

*Clown.*

*Clown.* This same skull, sir, was sir Yoric's skull, the king's jester.

*Hamlet.* Alas, poor Yoric!—I knew him, Horatio: a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy; he hath borne me on his back a thousand times; and now, how abhorr'd in my imagination it is! my gorge rises at it. Here hung those lips, that I have kiss'd I know not how oft. Where be your gibes now? your gambols, your songs, your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar! not one now, to mock your own grinning? quite chap fall'n? Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come; make her laugh at that.—Prithee, Horatio, tell me one thing?

*Horatio.* What's that, my lord?

*Hamlet.* Dost thou think Alexander look'd o' this fashion i' the earth?

*Horatio.* E'en so.

*Hamlet.* And smelt so? pah!

*Horatio.* E'en so, my lord.

*Hamlet.* To what base uses we may return!

SHAKESPEARE.

*Hamlet, act v.*

WITHIN the hollow crown,  
That rounds the mortal temples of a king,  
Keeps Death his court; and there the antic sits,  
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp;  
Allowing him a breath, a little scene  
To monarchise, be fear'd and kill'd with looks:  
Infusing

Infusing him with self and vain conceit,  
 As if this flesh, which walls about our life,  
 Were brass impregnable; and humour'd thus,  
 Comes at the last, and with a little pin  
 Bores through his castle walls, and farewell king.

IDEM.

*Richard II. act. iii.*

AND it shall come to pass in the day that the  
 Lord shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and  
 from thy fear, and from thy hard bondage in  
 which thou wast made to serve,

That thou shalt take up this proverb against  
 the king of Babylon, and say, How hath the op-  
 pressor ceased! the golden city ceased!

The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked,  
 and the sceptre of the rulers.

He who smote the people in wrath with a con-  
 tinual stroke, he that ruled the nations in anger,  
 is persecuted, and none hindereth.

The whole earth is at rest, and is quiet: they  
 break forth into singing.

Yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars  
 of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no  
 feller is come up against us.

[The grave] from beneath is moved for thee to  
 meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead  
 for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth: it  
 hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of  
 the nations.

All they shall speak and say unto thee, Art thou  
 also become weak as we? Art thou become like un-  
 to us?

The

Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols : the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee.

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning ! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations !

For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God : I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.

I will ascend above the heights of the clouds ; I will be like the Most High.

Yet thou shalt be brought down to the grave, to the sides of the pit.

They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms ?

That made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, and opened not the house of his prisoners ?

OLD TESTAMENT.

*Isaiab, chap. xiv.*

## RIGHTS OF MAN.

WHETHER we consider natural reason, which tells us, that men, being once born, have a right to their preservation, and consequently to meat and drink, and such other things as nature affords for their subsistence; or revelation, which gives us an account of those grants God made of the world to Adam, and to Noah and his sons; it is very clear that God has given the earth to the children of men, given it to mankind in common.

LOCKE.

*Civil Government, b. ii. chap. v.*

God has given the earth to the children of men, and he has undoubtedly in giving it to them, given them what is abundantly sufficient for all their exigencies, not a scanty, but a most liberal provision for them all. The Author of our nature has written it strongly in that nature, and has promulgated the same law in his written word, that man shall eat his bread by his labour; and I am persuaded that no man and no combinations of men, for their own ideas of their particular profit, can, without great impiety, undertake to say, that he shall not do so; that they have no sort of right  
either

either to prevent the labour or to withhold the bread.

BURKE.

*Two Letters to Gentlemen in Bristol, p. 25.*

EVERY man has naturally a right to every thing which is necessary to his subsistence.

- To allow to the first occupier of land as much as he can cultivate, and is necessary to his subsistence, is certainly carrying the matter as far as is reasonable: otherwise we know not how to set bounds to this right.—

The social system, instead of annihilating the natural equality of mankind, substitutes, on the contrary, a moral and legal equality. This equality indeed is, under bad governments, merely apparent and delusive, serving only to keep the poor in misery, and favour the oppression of the rich. In fact, the laws are always useful to persons of fortune, and hurtful to those who are destitute. Whence it follows, that a state of society is advantageous to mankind in general, only when they all possess something, and none of them have any thing too much.

ROUSSEAU.

*Du Contrat Social, liv. i. ch. ix.*

No father can transmit to his son the right of being useless to his fellow creatures.—In a state of society, where every man must be necessarily maintained at the expence of the community, he certainly owes the state so much labour as will pay for his subsistence, and this without exception of

rank or persons. Rich or poor, strong or weak, every idle citizen is a knave.

The man who earns not his subsistence, but eats the bread of idleness, is no better than a thief; and a pensioner who is paid by the state for doing nothing, differs little from a robber who is supported by the plunder he makes on the highway.

IDEM.

*Emile, liv. 3.*

In the hive of human society, to preserve order and justice, and to banish vice and corruption, it is necessary that all the individuals be equally employed, and obliged to concur equally in the general good; and that the labour be equally divided among them.

If there be any whose riches and birth exempt them from all employment, there will be divisions and unhappiness in the hive. Their idleness is destructive to the general welfare.

HELVETIUS.

*De l'Homme, vol. ii. sect. vi. ch. v.*

EVERY man is entitled, so far as the general stock will suffice, not only to the means of being, but of well being. It is unjust, if one man labour to the destruction of his health, that another may abound in luxuries. It is unjust, if one man be deprived of leisure to cultivate his rational powers, while another man contributes not a single effort to add to the common stock. The faculties of one man are like the faculties of another. Justice directs, that each, unless perhaps he be employed more beneficially to the public, should contribute

to

to the cultivation of the common harvest, of which each consumes a share. This reciprocity is of the very essence of justice.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, b. viii. ch. i. p. 791.*

SIR, I'm a GENTLEMAN. Is't fit  
That I to industry submit?  
Let mean mechanics, to be fed,  
By business earn ignoble bread:  
Lost in excess of daily joys!  
No thought, no care my life annoys.

GAY.

*Fables, part ii. f. 8.*

ALL men are born free : liberty is a gift which they received from God himself, nor can they alienate the same by consent, though possibly they may forfeit it by crimes.

No man has power over his own life, or to dispose of his own religion, and cannot consequently transfer the power of either to any body else, much less can he give away the lives, liberties, religion, — of his posterity, who will be born as free as himself, and can never be bound by his wicked and ridiculous bargain.

TRENCHARD.

*Cato's Letters, vol. ii. No. 59.*

THERE are people who have disputed, whether liberty be a positive or negative idea; whether it does not consist in being governed by laws; without considering what are the laws or who are the makers



makers; whether man has any rights by nature; and whether all the property he enjoys, be not the alms of his government, and his life itself their favour and indulgence. Others corrupting religion, as these have perverted philosophy, contend that Christians are redeemed into captivity, and the blood of the Saviour of mankind has been shed to make them the slaves of a few proud and insolent sinners.

Civil freedom is not, as many have endeavoured to persuade you, a thing that lies hid in the depth of abstruse science. It is a blessing and a benefit, not an abstract speculation; and all the just reasoning that can be upon it, is of so coarse a texture, as perfectly to suit the ordinary capacities of those who are to enjoy and those who are to defend it.

It is not only a private blessing, but the vital spring and energy of the state itself, which has just as much life and vigour as there is liberty in it.

BURKE.

*Letter to Sheriffs of Bristol, p. 56, 7, 8.*

ALL government is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others.—But in all fair dealings, the thing bought must bear some proportion to the purchase paid. None will barter away the immediate jewel of the soul.

IDEM.

*Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, p. 85.*

THE

THE ultimate end of all government is the good of the people.—Now the greatest good of a people is their liberty. Liberty is to the collective body what health is to every individual body. Without health no pleasure can be tasted by man; without liberty no happiness can be enjoyed by society.

BOLINGBROKE.

*Idea of a Patriot King.*

POLITICIANS are guilty of the same sophistry respecting the love of liberty, as philosophers respecting a state of nature. They judge by what they see, of things very different which they have not seen; imputing to man a natural propensity to servitude, because some slaves within their observation are seen to bear the yoke without impatience. They do not reflect that the case of liberty is the same with that of innocence and virtue: the value is not known except by those who possess them, and a taste for them is lost when they are lost themselves. I know the charms of your country, said Brasidas to a satrape, who was comparing the manner of life at Sparta with that at Persepolis, but it is out of your power to know the pleasures of mine.

An unbroken horse erects his mane, paws the ground, and starts back at the sight of the bridle, while a horse that is properly trained suffers patiently the whip and the spur; so savage man bends not his neck to the yoke which civilized man submits to without murmuring, but prefers the most turbulent state of liberty to the most peaceful slavery.

slavery. It is not therefore from the passiveness of enslaved nations that we must form our judgment of the natural dispositions of mankind either for or against slavery; but rather from the prodigious efforts of every free people to prevent oppression. I am sensible that the former frequently declaim in favour of the tranquility they enjoy in their chains, and that they call a state of wretched servitude a state of peace: *miserrimam servitutum pacem appellant*: but when I observe the latter sacrificing pleasure, repose, wealth, power, and even life itself to the preservation of that single treasure, which is so much disdained by those who have lost it; when I see free born animals dash their brains out against the bars of their prison from an abhorrence of captivity; when I behold numbers of naked savages, despising European pleasures, and braving hunger, fire, the sword, and death, to preserve their independence, I feel that it belongs not to slaves to argue about liberty.

ROUSSEAU.

*Discours sur l'Inégalité, part ii.*

“ THE Bastile is not an evil to be despised—  
 “ but strip it of its towers—fill up the foss—un-  
 “ barricade the doors—call it simply a confine-  
 “ ment—and suppose it is some tyrant of a dis-  
 “ temper—and not of a man which holds you  
 “ in it—the evil vanishes, and you bear the  
 “ other half without complaint.”  
 “ I was interrupted in the hey-day of this solilo-  
 “ quy with a voice which I took to be of a child,  
 which

which complained,—*it could not get out.* I looked up and down the passage, and seeing neither man, woman, or child, I went out without farther attention.

In my return back through the passage I heard the same words repeated twice over; and looking up, I saw it was a starling hung in a little cage—*"I can't get out—I can't get out!"* said the starling.

I stood looking at the bird: and to every person who came through the passage, it ran fluttering to the side towards which they approached it, with the same lamentation of its captivity—"I can't get out!" said the starling—"God help thee!" said I, "but I will let thee out cost what it will." So I turned about the cage to get the door—it was twisted and double-twisted so fast with wire, there was no getting it open without pulling the cage to pieces—I took both hands to it.

The bird flew to the place where I was attempting his deliverance, and thrusting his head through the trellis, pressed his breast against it, as if impatient—"I fear, poor creature!" said I, "I cannot set thee at liberty."—"No," said the starling—"I can't get out—I can't get out!" said the starling.

I vow I never had my affections more tenderly awakened; nor do I remember any accident of my life where the dissipated spirits, to which my reason had been a bubble, were so suddenly called home. Mechanical as the notes were, yet so

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true in tune to nature were they chaunted, that in one moment they overthrew all my systematic reasonings upon the Bastile ; and I heavily walked up stairs, unsaying every word I had said in going down them.

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still Slavery ! still thou art a bitter draught ; and though thousands in all ages have been made to drink of thee, though art no less bitter on that account. It is thou, Liberty, thrice sweet and gracious goddess, whom all in public or in private worship, whose taste is grateful, and ever will be so, till nature herself shall change——no tint of words can spot thy snowy mantle, or chymic power turn thy sceptre into iron——with thee to smile upon him as he eats his crust, the swain is happier than his monarch, from whose court thou art exiled. Gracious heaven ! grant me but health, thou great Bestower of it, and give me but this fair goddess as my companion ; and shower down thy mitres, if it seems good unto thy wise providence, upon those heads that are aching for them.

The bird in his cage pursued me into my room ; I sat down close by my table, and leaning my head upon my hand, I began to figure to myself the miseries of confinement. I was in a right frame for it, and so I gave full scope to my imagination.

I was going to begin with the millions of my fellow creatures born to no inheritance but slavery ; but finding, however affecting the picture was, that

that I could not bring it nearer me, and that the multitude of sad groupes in it did but distract me—

I took a single captive, and having first shut him up in his dungeon, I then looked through the twilight of his grated door to take his picture.

I beheld his body half wasted away with long expectation and confinement, and felt what kind of sickness of the heart it was which arises from hope deferred. Upon looking nearer I saw him pale and feverish: in thirty years the western breeze had not once fanned his blood—he had no sun, no moon in all that time—nor had the voice of friend or kinsman breathed through his lattice. His children——

—But here my heart began to bleed—and I was forced to go on with another part of the portrait.

He was sitting upon the ground upon a little straw, in the furthest corner of his dungeon, which was alternately his chair and bed: a little calendar of small sticks were laid at his head notched all over with the dismal days and nights he had passed there—he had one of these little sticks in his hand, and with a rusty nail he was etching another day of misery to add to the heap. As I darkened the little light he had, he lifted up a hopeless eye towards the door, then cast it down—shook his head, and went on with his work of affliction. I heard his chains upon his legs, as he turned his body to lay his little stick upon the  
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the bundle——He gave a deep sigh—I saw the iron enter into his soul—I burst into tears—I could not sustain the picture of confinement which my fancy had drawn.

STERNE.

*Sentimental Journey, vol. ii.*

STRANGE as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that, exhausted as I was with hunger, destitute of all provision for the future, and surrounded with the most alarming dangers, my mind suddenly became glowing, animated, and chearful. I recollected the confinement I had undergone, and the fate that had impended over me with horror. Never did man feel more vividly than I felt at that moment the sweets of liberty. Never did man more strenuously prefer poverty with independence to the artificial allurements of a life of slavery. I stretched forth my arms with rapture, I clapped my hands one upon another, and exclaimed, Ah, this is indeed to be a man! These wrists were lately galled with fetters; all my motions, whether I rose up or sat down, were echoed to with the clanking of chains; I was tied down like a wild beast, and could not move but in a circle of a few feet in circumference. Now I can run fleet as a grey-hound, and leap like a young roe upon the mountains. Oh, God! (if God there be that condescends to record the lonely beatings of an anxious heart) thou only can'st tell with what delight a prisoner, just broke forth from his dungeon, hugs the blessings of new found liberty! Sacred and indescribable moment, when

when man regains his rights ! But lately I held my life in jeopardy, because one man was unprincipled enough to assert what he knew to be false ; I was destined to suffer an early and inexorable death from the hands of others, because none of them had penetration enough to distinguish from falsehood what I uttered with the entire conviction of a full fraught heart ! Strange, that men from age to age should consent to hold their lives at the breath of another, merely that each in his turn may have a power of acting the tyrant according to law ! Oh, God ! give me poverty ! shower upon me all the imaginary hardships of human life ! I will receive them all with thankfulness. . Turn me a prey to the wild beasts of the desert, so I be never again the victim of man dressed in the gore dripping robes of authority ! Suffer me at least to call life and the pursuits of life my own ! Let me hold it at the mercy of elements, of the hunger of beasts, or the revenge of barbarians, but not of the cold-blooded prudence of monopolists and kings !

GODWIN.

*Caleb Williams, vol. iii. p. 9.*

[COULD men] but know  
The blessing which from INDEPENDENCE flow,  
Could they but have a short and transient gleam  
OF LIBERTY, tho' 'twas but in a dream,  
They would no more in bondage bend their knee,  
But, once made freemen, would be always free.  
Bred in a cage, far from the feather'd throng,  
The bird repays his keeper with his song ;

But,

But, if some playful child sets wide the door,  
Abroad he flies and thinks of home no more;  
With love of liberty begins to burn,  
And rather starves than to his cage return.

Hail INDEPENDENCE!—tho' thy name's scarce  
known,

Tho' thou, alas! art out of fashion grown,  
Tho' all despise thee, I will not despise,  
Nor live one moment longer than I prize  
Thy presence, and enjoy; by angry Fate  
Bow'd down, and almost crush'd, *thou* cam'st, tho'  
late,

*Thou* cam'st upon me, like a second birth,  
And made me know what life was truly worth.

Hail INDEPENDENCE!—never may my cot,  
Till I forget thee, be by thee forgot.

CHURCHIL.

*Independence. vol. ii. p. 315-6.*

#### WHAT is life?

'Tis not to stalk about, and draw fresh air,  
From time to time, or gaze upon the sun;  
'Tis to be free. When liberty is gone,  
Life grows insipid, and has lost its relish.

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A day, an hour of virtuous liberty,  
Is worth a whole eternity of bondage.

ADDISON.

*Cato, Act 1.*

'Tis [i. e. liberty is] a substantial thing, and  
not a word,

——— which, if once taken from us,  
All other blessings leave us; 'tis a jewel

Worth

Worth purchasing at the dear rate of life;  
And so to be defended.

BRAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

*Double Marriage, Act. v.*

SOME have said it is not the business of private men to meddle with government:—a bold, false, and dishonest saying, which is fit to come from no mouth but that of a tyrant or a slave.

To say that private men have nothing to do with government, is to say that private men have nothing to do with their own happiness or misery:—that people ought not to concern themselves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or starved, deceived or instructed, protected or destroyed.

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WHEN the affairs of a nation are distracted, private people are justified in stepping a little out of their ordinary sphere. They enjoy a privilege of somewhat more dignity than that of idle lamentation over the calamities of their country. They may look into them narrowly, they may reason upon them liberally.

BURKE.

*Thoughts on the Discontents, p. 2.*

THE poorest being that crawls on earth, contending to save itself from injustice and oppression, is an object respectable in the eyes of God and man.—

If any ask me what a free government is, I answer, that, for any practical purpose, it is what  
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the people think so; and that they, and not I, are the natural, lawful, and competent judges of this matter.

I never knew a writer on the theory of government so partial to authority, as not to allow, that the hostile mind of the rulers to their people, did fully justify a change of government.

IDEM.

*Letter to Sheriffs of Bristol, p. 26. 55. 34.*

In the situation in which we stand, I see no other way for the preservation of a decent attention to public interest in the representatives, but *the interposition of the body of the people itself*, whenever it shall appear by some flagrant and notorious act, by some capital innovation, that the representatives are going to overleap the fences of the law, and to introduce an arbitrary power. This interposition is a most unpleasant remedy. But if it be a legal remedy, it is intended on some occasion to be used.

IDEM.

*Thoughts on the Discontents, p. 100.*

WHENEVER the legislators endeavour to reduce [the people] to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any farther obedience, and are left to the common refuge, which God hath provided for all men against force or violence. Whenever therefore the legislative shall—either by ambition, fear, folly, or

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corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people; by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislative, (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society. What I have said here concerning the legislative in general, holds true also, concerning the supreme executor, who acts contrary to his trust, WHEN HE EITHER EMPLOYS THE FORCE, TREASURE, AND OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY, TO CORRUPT THE REPRESENTATIVES, AND GAIN THEM TO HIS PURPOSES; OR OPENLY PRE-ENGAGES THE ELECTORS, AND PRESCRIBES TO THEIR CHOICE SUCH WHOM HE HAS BY SOLICITATIONS, THREATS, PROMISES, OR OTHERWISE, WON TO HIS DESIGNS; AND EMPLOYS THEM TO BRING IN SUCH WHO HAVE PROMISED BEFORE HAND WHAT TO VOTE, AND WHAT TO ENACT.

LOCKE:

*Civil Government, b. ii. ch. 19.*

No society can at the time of its establishment put into the hands of a man the power of disposing of the property, the lives, and the liberty of the citizens at his pleasure. All arbitrary power is an usurpation against which a people may at all times revolt.—The laws that are sacred, are such as are conformable to the public in-

terest : every ordonance contrary to it, is not a law but a legal abuse.

HELVETIUS.

*De l'Homme. Sect. ix. cb. ix note (12.)*

WHEN men fall under despotism, they are bound to make efforts to shake it off; and those efforts are, at that period, the only property the unfortunate people have left. The height of misery is, not to be able to free ourselves from it, and to suffer without daring to complain. Where is the man barbarous and stupid enough to give the name of peace to the silence and forced tranquillity of slavery? It is indeed peace, but it is the peace of the tomb.

*Ib. Sect. ix. cb. 8.*

SINCE the king or magistrate holds his authority off the people, for their good, and not his own, then may the people, as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either chuse him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free-born men to be governed as seems to them best.

And Ludovicus Pius, himself an emperor, and son of Charles the Great, being made judge (Du Hailan is my author) between Milegast king of the Vultzes and his subjects who had deposed him, gave his verdict for the subjects. Here the right of electing whom they please is by the impartial testimony of an emperor in the people.

MILTON.

*Prose Works. vol. ii. p. 533. 537.*

THE community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish

abolish government in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal.

That those who are employed in the legislative and executive business of the state may be restrained from oppression, the people have a right, at such periods as they may think proper, to reduce their public officers to a private station, and supply the vacancies by certain and regular elections.

*Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights.*

WERE [such] smooth, ensnaring terms rightly explained to the people, and the controversy of non-resistance set in a just light, we should have wanted many thousands of hands to some late addresses. I would fain know what free-holder in England would have subscribed the following address, had it been offered him; or whether her Majesty, who values the rights of her subjects as much as her own prerogative, would not have been very much offended at it? And yet I will appeal to the reader, if this has not been the sense of many addresses, when taken out of several artificial qualifying expressions, and exposed in their true and genuine light.

“MADAM,

“It is with unspeakable grief of heart, that we  
 “hear a set of men daily preaching up among us  
 “that pernicious and damnable doctrine of self-  
 “preservation; and boldly affirming, as well in their  
 “public writings, as in their private discourses, that



true in tune to nature were they chaunted, that in one moment they overthrew all my systematic reasonings upon the Bastile ; and I heavily walked up stairs, unsaying every word I had said in going down them.

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the people think so; and that they, and not I, are the natural, lawful, and competent judges of this matter.

I never knew a writer on the theory of government so partial to authority, as not to allow, that the hostile mind of the rulers to their people, did fully justify a change of government.

IDEM.

*Letter to Sheriffs of Bristol, p. 26. 55. 34.*

IN the situation in which we stand, I see no other way for the preservation of a decent attention to public interest in the representatives, but *the interposition of the body of the people itself*, whenever it shall appear by some flagrant and notorious act, by some capital innovation, that the representatives are going to overleap the fences of the law, and to introduce an arbitrary power. This interposition is a most unpleasant remedy. But if it be a legal remedy, it is intended on some occasion to be used.

IDEM.

*Thoughts on the Discontents, p. 100.*

WHENEVER the legislators endeavour to reduce [the people] to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any farther obedience, and are left to the common refuge, which God hath provided for all men against force or violence. Whenever therefore the legislative shall—either by ambition, fear, folly, or

cor-

corruption, endeavour to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people; by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislative, (such as they shall think fit) provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society. What I have said here concerning the legislative in general, holds true also, concerning the supreme executor, who acts contrary to his trust, WHEN HE EITHER EMPLOYS THE FORCE, TREASURE, AND OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY, TO CORRUPT THE REPRESENTATIVES, AND GAIN THEM TO HIS PURPOSES; OR OPENLY PRE-ENGAGES THE ELECTORS, AND PRESCRIBES TO THEIR CHOICE SUCH WHOM HE HAS BY-SOLICITATIONS, THREATS, PROMISES, OR OTHERWISE, WON TO HIS DESIGNS; AND EMPLOYS THEM TO BRING IN SUCH WHO HAVE PROMISED BEFORE HAND WHAT TO VOTE, AND WHAT TO ENACT.

LOCKE:

*Civil Government, b. ii. ch. 19.*

No society can at the time of its establishment put into the hands of a man the power of disposing of the property, the lives, and the liberty of the citizens at his pleasure. All arbitrary power is an usurpation against which a people may at all times revolt.—The laws that are sacred, are such as are conformable to the public interest:



terest : every ordonance contrary to it, is not a law but a legal abuse.

HELVETIUS.

*De l'Homme. Sect. ix. cb. ix note (12.)*

WHEN men fall under despotism, they are bound to make efforts to shake it off; and those efforts are, at that period, the only property the unfortunate people have left. The height of misery is, not to be able to free ourselves from it, and to suffer without daring to complain. Where is the man barbarous and stupid enough to give the name of peace to the silence and forced tranquility of slavery? It is indeed peace, but it is the peace of the tomb.

*Ib. Sect. ix. cb. 8.*

SINCE the king or magistrate holds his authority off the people, for their good, and not his own, then may the people, as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either chuse him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free-born men to be governed as seems to them best.

And Ludovicus Pius, himself an emperor, and son of Charles the Great, being made judge (Du Hailan is my author) between Milegast king of the Vultzes and his subjects who had deposed him, gave his verdict for the subjects. Here the right of electing whom they please is by the impartial testimony of an emperor in the people.

MILTON.

*Prose Works. vol. ii. p. 533. 537.*

THE community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish

abolish government in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal.

That those who are employed in the legislative and executive business of the state may be restrained from oppression, the people have a right, at such periods as they may think proper, to reduce their public officers to a private station, and supply the vacancies by certain and regular elections.

*Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights.*

WERE [such] smooth, ensnaring terms rightly explained to the people, and the controversy of non-resistance set in a just light, we should have wanted many thousands of hands to some late addresses. I would fain know what free-holder in England would have subscribed the following address, had it been offered him; or whether her Majesty, who values the rights of her subjects as much as her own prerogative, would not have been very much offended at it? And yet I will appeal to the reader, if this has not been the sense of many addresses, when taken out of several artificial qualifying expressions, and exposed in their true and genuine light.

“MADAM,

“It is with unspeakable grief of heart, that we  
 “hear a set of men daily preaching up among us  
 “that pernicious and damnable doctrine of self-  
 “preservation; and boldly affirming, as well in their  
 “public writings, as in their private discourses, that

“ it is lawful to resist a tyrant, and take up arms  
“ in defence of their lives and liberties. We have  
“ the utmost horror and detestation of these dia-  
“ bolical principles, that may induce your people  
“ to rise up in vindication of their rights and  
“ freedoms, whenever a wicked prince shall make  
“ use of his royal authority to subvert them.  
“ We are astonished at the bold and impious at-  
“ tempts of those men, who, under the reign of  
“ the best of sovereigns, would avow such dan-  
“ gerous tenets as may secure them under the  
“ worst. We are resolved to beat down and dis-  
“ countenance these seditious notions, as being  
“ altogether republican, jesuitical, and conform-  
“ able to the practice of our rebellious forefathers;  
“ who in all ages, at an infinite expence of blood  
“ and treasure, asserted their rights and proper-  
“ ties, and consulted the good of their posterity  
“ by resistance, arms, and pitched battles, to the  
“ great trouble and disquiet of their lawful prince.  
“ We do therefore, in the most humble and duti-  
“ ful manner, solemnly protest and declare, that  
“ we will never resist a sovereign that shall think  
“ fit to destroy our *Magna Charta*, or invade  
“ those rights and liberties which those traitors  
“ procured for us; but will venture our lives and  
“ fortunes against such of our fellow subjects,  
“ who think they may stand up in defence of  
“ them.”

It happens very unluckily that there is some-  
thing so supple and insinuating in this absurd  
unnatural doctrine, as makes it extremely agreeable  
to

to a prince's ear : for which reason the publishers of it have always been the favourites of weak kings. Even those who have no inclination to do hurt to others, says the famous satirist, would have the power of doing it if they pleased. Honest men who tell their sovereigns what they expect from them, and what obedience they shall always be ready to pay to them, are not upon an equal footing with such base and abject flatterers ; and are therefore always in danger of being the last in the royal favour.

ADDISON.

*Whig Examiner, No. v.*

ABSURD prejudices have perverted human reason, and even stifled that instinct which teaches animals to resist oppression and tyranny. Multitudes of the human race really believe themselves to be the property of a small number of men who oppress them. Such is the fatal progress of that original error, which imposture has either produced or kept up in the mind of man. May true knowledge revive those rights of reasonable beings, which to be recovered need only to be felt ! Sages of the earth, philosophers of every nation, it is your's alone to make laws by pointing out these rights to your fellow citizens. Take the glorious resolution to instruct your fellow creatures, and be assured that if truth is longer in diffusing and establishing itself than error, yet its empire is more solid and lasting. Error passes away ; but truth remains. Mankind, allured by the expectation of happiness, the road to which you will show them,

will listen to you with attention. Excite a sense of shame in the breasts of those numerous hireling slaves, who are always ready at the command of their masters to destroy their fellow citizens. Rouse all the powers of human nature to oppose this subversion of social laws. Teach mankind that liberty is the institution of God; authority that of man. Expose those mysterious arts which hold the world in chains and darkness; let the people be sensible how far their credulity has been imposed upon; let them re-assume with one accord the use of their faculties, and vindicate the honour of the human race.

ABBE RAYNAL.

*Hist. of European Settlements, b. i.*

*Pierre.* —I pay my debts, when they're contracted;

I steal from no man; would not cut a throat  
To gain admission to a great man's purse,  
Or a whore's bed; I'd not betray my friend  
To get his place or fortune; I scorn to flatter  
A blown up fool above, to crush the wretch beneath me;

Yet, Jaffier, for all this, I am a villain.

*Jaffier.* A villain!

*Pierre.* Yes, and a most notorious villain;  
To see the sufferings of my fellow creatures,  
And own myself a man; to see our senators  
Cheat the deluded people with a show  
Of liberty, which yet they ne'er must taste of.  
They say, by them our hands are free from fetters.  
Yet whom they please they lay in basest bonds;  
Bring

Bring whom they please to infamy and sorrow ;  
Drive us, like wrecks, down the rough tide of  
power,

Whilst no hold is to save us from destruction,  
All that bear this are villains, and I one,  
Not to rouse up at that great call of nature,  
And check the growth of these domestic spoilers,  
That make us slaves, and tell us 'tis our charter.

OTWAY.

*Venice Preserved. Act. i.*

REMEMBER, O my friends, the laws, the rights,  
The generous plan of power deliver'd down,  
From age to age, by your renown'd fore-fathers,  
(So dearly bought, the price of so much blood.)  
O let it never perish in your hands!  
But piously transmit it to your children.  
Do thou, great Liberty, inspire our souls,  
And make our lives in thy possession happy,  
Or our deaths glorious in thy just defence.

ADDISON.

*Cato, act. iii.*

O MY poor country!—weak and overpower'd  
By thine own sons—eat to the bone—devour'd  
By vipers, which, in thine own entrails bred,  
Prey on thy life, and with thy blood are fed,  
With unavailing griefs thy wrongs I see,  
And, for myself not feeling, feel for *thee*.  
I grieve, but can't despair—for, lo, at hand,  
Freedom presents a choice, but faithful band,  
Of loyal PATRIOTS, men who greatly dare  
In such a noble cause, men fit to bear

The

The weight of empires ———

\* \* \* \* \*

O ye brave few, in whom we still may find  
 A love of virtue, freedom, and mankind,  
 Go forth—in majesty of woe array'd,  
 See, at your feet your country kneels for aid,  
 And, (many of her children traitors grown,)  
 Kneels to those sons she still can call her own,  
 Seeming to breathe her last in ev'ry breath,  
 She kneels for freedom, or she begs for death—  
 Fly then, each duteous son, each English chief,  
 And to your drooping parent bring relief.  
 Go forth—nor let the siren voice of ease  
 Tempt ye to sleep, whilst tempests swell the seas;  
 Go forth—nor let hypocrisy, whose tongue  
 With many a fair, false, fatal art is hung,  
 Like Bethel's fawning prophet, cross your way,  
 When your great errand brooks not of delay;  
 Nor let vain fear, who cries to all she meets,  
 Trembling and pale—"A Lion in the streets"—  
 Damp your free spirits; let not threats affright,  
 Nor bribes corrupt, nor flatteries delight.  
 Be as one man—concord success ensures—  
 There's not an English heart but what is yours.

CHURCHIL.

*Independence, vol. ii. p. 318.*

RIGHTS

## RIGHTS OF KINGS.

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*Let me, impartial, with unwearied thought,  
Try men and things: let me, as monarchs ought,  
Examine well on what my power depends,  
What are the general principles and ends  
Of government, how empire first began;  
And wherefore man was rais'd to reign o'er man.*

CHURCHIL:

*Gotbam, vol. ii. p. 181.*

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ACCORDING to Grotius, it is doubtful, whether the whole race of mankind, except about an hundred individuals, belong to those individuals, or whether those individuals belong to the whole race of mankind; and he appears to lean to the former opinion. This is also the opinion of Hobbes. Thus they divide the human species into herds of cattle, each of which has its keeper, who protects it from others, only that he may make a property of it himself. As the shepherd is of a superior nature to his flock, so the herd-keepers of men, or their chiefs, are of a superior nature to the herds over which they preside.—Whence can this arise? And are there any means by which it may be rendered lawful?

The



The most ancient of all societies, and the only natural one, is that of a family. And even in this children are no longer connected with their father, than while they stand in need of his assistance. When this becomes needless the natural tie is dissolved; the children are exempted from the obedience they owe their father, and the father is equally so from the solicitude due from him to his children: both assume a state of independence respecting each other. They may continue indeed to live together afterwards, but their connection in such case is no longer natural but voluntary.

I shall say nothing of King Adam, or the Emperor Noah, father of three monarchs, who, like the children of Saturn, as some have imagined them to be, divided the world among them. I hope my moderation in this respect will be esteemed some merit, for as I am descended in a right line from one of these princes, and probably from the eldest branch, how do I know that by a regular deduction of my descent, I might not find myself the legitimate heir to universal monarchy?

Let us suppose for a moment the pretended right of the strongest established, we shall see it attended with inexplicable absurdities; for if it be admitted that power constitutes right, the effect changes with the cause, and every succeeding power, if greater than the former, succeeds also to the right; so that men may lawfully disobey as soon as they can do it with impunity; and as right is always on the strongest side, they have nothing  
more

more to do than to acquire superior force. Now what kind of right can that be, which vanishes with the power of enforcing it?

If an individual, says Grotius, can alienate his liberty, and become the slave of a master, why may not a whole people collectively alienate theirs, and become subject to a king? This proposition contains some equivocal terms which require explanation; I shall confine myself to that of *alienate*. Whatever is alienated must be disposed of either by gift or sale. Now a man who becomes the slave of another doth not give himself away, but sells himself, at least for his subsistence: but why should a whole people sell themselves? So far is a king from furnishing his subjects with subsistence, that they maintain him; and, as our friend Rabelais says, a king doth not live on a little. Can subjects be supposed to give away their liberty on condition that the receiver shall take their property along with it? After this I really cannot see what they have left. It may be said, a monarch maintains among his subjects the public tranquillity. Be it so: I would gladly know of what they are gainers, if the wars in which his ambition engages them, if his insatiable avarice, or the oppressions of his ministers, are more destructive than civil dissensions? Of what are they gainers, if even this tranquillity be one cause of their misery? A prisoner may live tranquil enough in his dungeon; but will this be sufficient to make him contented there? When the Greeks were shut up in the cave of the Cyclops, they lived there  
unmolested,

unmolested, in expectation of their turn to be devoured.—To say that a man can give himself away, is to talk unintelligibly and absurdly; such an act must necessarily be illegal and void, were it for no other reason, than that it argues insanity of mind in the agent. To say the same thing of a whole nation, is to suppose a whole nation can be at once out of their senses: but were it so, such madness could not confer right. Were it possible also for a man to alienate himself, he could not, in the same manner, dispose of his children, who, as human beings, are born free: their freedom is their own, and nobody has any right to dispose of it but themselves. It is requisite therefore, in order to render an arbitrary government lawful, that every new generation should be at liberty to admit or reject its authority, in which case it would no longer be an arbitrary government.

To renounce one's liberty, is to renounce one's very being as a man; it is to renounce not only the rights but the duties of humanity. And what possible indemnification can be made to the man who thus gives up his all? Such a renunciation is incompatible with our very nature; for to deprive us of the liberty of the will is to take away all morality from our actions.

Again, Grotius and others have deduced the origin of this pretended right from the superiority obtained in war. The conqueror, say they, having a right to put the vanquished to death, the latter may equitably purchase his life at the expence of his liberty; such an agreement being the  
more

more lawful, as it conduces to the mutual advantage of both parties. Let us suppose that this shocking right of general massacre existed, still I affirm, that a slave made so by the fortune of war, or a conquered people so reduced to slavery, lie under no other obligations than to obey him so long as he has the power to compel them to it. In accepting of an equivalent for their lives, the victor confers on them no favour. Instead of killing them uselessly, he has only varied the mode of their destruction to his own advantage. So far therefore from his having acquired over them any additional authority, the state of war subsists between them as before; their relation to each other is the evident effect of it; and his exertion of the rights of war, is a proof that no treaty of peace has succeeded. Will it be said, they have made a convention. Be it so: this convention is a mere truce, and is so far from putting an end to the state of war, that it necessarily implies its continuation.

Thus, in whatever light we consider this affair, the right of making men slaves is null and void, not only because it is unjust, but because it is absurd and insignificant. The terms, slavery and justice, are contradictory, and reciprocally exclusive of each other. The proposal must be equally ridiculous, whether made by one individual to another, or by an individual to a whole people: I ENTER INTO AN AGREEMENT WITH YOU, ALTOGETHER AT YOUR OWN CHARGE, AND SOLELY FOR MY PROFIT, WHICH I WILL OBSERVE AS LONG

AS I PLEASE, AND WHICH YOU ARE TO OBSERVE  
ALSO AS LONG AS I THINK PROPER.

ROUSSEAU.

*Du Contrat Social, liv. i. ch. 1, 2, 3, and 4.*

ALL power being originally inherent in, and consequently derived from, the people, therefore all officers of government, whether legislative or executive, are their trustees and servants, and at all times accountable to them.

Government is, or ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community, and not for the particular emolument or advantage of any single man, family, or set of men, who are part only of that community.

*Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights.*

THE principles declared at the revolution, and asserted and insisted upon by Judge Foster, and every good writer since, make the crown not to be descendable property, like a pigstye or a laystall, but a descendable trust for millions and ages yet unborn; and they contend that, on this account, the hereditary succession cannot be considered as a right.—In fact, the people have rights, but kings and princes have none. The people stand in need of neither charters nor precedents to prove theirs, or professional men to interpret either. They are born with every man in every country, and exist in all countries alike, the despotic as well as the free, though they may not be equally easy to be recovered in all. Kings have at times different  
interests,

interests, and great calamities have followed their differences; but the people can have but one interest throughout the world.

LORD LANSDOWNE.

*Par. Register, vol. xxvi. p. 61-2.*

IN those countries that pretend to freedom, princes are subject to those laws which their people have chosen; they are bound to protect their subjects in liberty, property, and religion; to receive their petitions, and redress their grievances; so that the prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation; not only a servant to the public in general, but, in some sort, to every man in it.

SWIFT.

*Sermon on Mutual Subjection.*

THE king is the representative of the people; so are the lords; so are the judges. They are all trustees for the people, as well as the commons, because no power is given for the sole sake of the holder, and although government is certainly an institution of divine authority, yet its forms, and the persons who administer it, all originate from the people.

BURKE.

*Thoughts on the Discontents, p. 66.*

KINGS who have weak understandings, bad hearts, and strong prejudices, and all these, as it often happens, inflamed by their passions, and rendered incurable by their self conceit and presumption;

tion; such kings are apt to imagine, and they conduct themselves so as to make many of their subjects imagine, that the king and the people in free governments are rival powers, who stand in competition with one another, who have different interests, and must of course have different views: that the rights and privileges of the people are so many spoils taken from the rights and prerogative of the crown; and that the rules and laws, made for the exercise and security of the former, are so many diminutions of their dignity, and restraints on their power. A patriot king will see all this in a far different and much truer light. He will make one and but one distinction between his rights and those of the people: he will look on his to be a trust, and theirs a property; and that his people who had an original right to the whole by the law of nature, can have the sole indefeasible right to any part.—

As well might we say that a ship is built, and loaded, and manned, for the sake of any particular pilot, instead of acknowledging that the pilot is made for the sake of the ship, her lading, and her crew, who are always the owners in the political vessel, as to say that kingdoms were instituted for kings, not kings for kingdoms. To carry our illusion higher, majesty is not an inherent, but a reflected right.—

I have read in one of the historians of the latter Roman empire, that Saporess was crowned in his mother's womb. His father left her with child :  
the

the Magi declared that the child would be a male; whereupon the royal ensigns were brought forth, they were placed on her majesty's belly, and the princes and the satrapes, prostrate, recognized the embryo monarch,—

Some authors would have it believed, that when a family has been once admitted, and an hereditary right to the crown once recognised in it, that right cannot be forfeited, nor that throne become vacant as long as any heir of the family remains. How much more agreeable to truth and to common sense would these authors have written, if they had maintained, that every prince who comes to a crown in the course of succession, were he the last of five hundred, comes to it under the same conditions under which the first took it, and that royal blood can give no right. The first and the last hold by the same tenure.—

The notions concerning the divine institution and right of kings, as well as the absolute power belonging to their office, have no foundation in fact or reason, but have risen from an old alliance between ecclesiastical and civil policy. The characters of king and priest have been sometimes blended together: and when they have been divided, as kings have found the great effects wrought in government by the empire which priests obtain over the consciences of mankind, so priests have been taught by experience, that the best method to preserve their own rank, dignity, wealth, and power, all raised upon a supposed



*divine right*, is to communicate the same pretension to kings, and, by a fallacy common to both, impose their usurpations on a silly world. This they have done, and in the state, as in the church, these pretensions to a *divine right* have been generally carried highest by those who have had the least pretension to the divine favour.—

A divine right to govern ill, is an absurdity ; to assert it, is blasphemy.

BOLINGBROKE.

*Idea of a Patriot King.*

SOME are born kings,  
Made up of three parts fire ; so full of heaven,  
It sparkles at their eyes ; inferior souls  
Know 'em as soon as seen, by sure instinct,  
To be their lords, and naturally worship  
The secret god within them !!

DRYDEN.

*Cleomenes, act ii.*

NOT all the water in the rough rude sea  
Can wash the balm from an anointed king ;  
The breath of worldly men cannot depose  
The deputy elected by the Lord !!

SHAKESPEAR.

*Richard II. act iñ.*

LET him go, Gertrude ; do not fear our person ;  
There's such divinity doth hedge a king,  
That treason can but peep to what it would,  
Act little of his will !!

SHAKESPEAR.

*Hamlet, act iv.*

Christiern.

*Christiern.* ——— ARE the lives  
Of my misguided people held so light,  
That thus thou'dst push them on the keen rebuke  
Of guarded majesty ; where justice waits,  
All awful and resistless, to assert  
The impervious rights, the sanctitude of kings,  
And blast rebellion?

*Gustavus.* Justice, sanctitude,  
And rights! O patience! rights! what rights, thou  
tyrant?  
Yes, if perdition be the rule of power,  
If wrongs give right, O then, supreme in mis-  
chief,

Thou wert the lord, the monarch of the world!  
Too narrow for thy claim. But if thou think'st  
That crowns are vilely propertied, like coin,  
To be the means, the specialty of lust,  
And sensual attribution ; if thou think'st  
That empire is of titled birth, or blood ;  
That nature, in the proud behalf of one,  
Shall disenfranchise all her lordly race,  
And bow her general issue to the yoke  
Of private domination ; then, thou proud one,  
Here know me for thy king. Howe'er be told  
Not claim hereditary, not the trust  
Of frank election,  
Not even the high anointed hand of Heaven  
Can authorise oppression, give a law  
For lawless power, wed faith to violation,  
On reason build misrule, or justly bind  
Allegiance to injustice. Tyranny  
Absolves all faith ; and who invades our rights,

Howe'er his own commence, can never be  
But an usurper.

BROOKE.

*Gustavus Vasa, act ii.*

PREROGATIVE! what's that? the boast of  
tyrants;

A borrow'd jewel glittering in the crown  
With specious lustre, lent but to destroy.  
You had it, sir, and hold it—from the people.

T. FRANKLIN.

*Earl of Warwick, act iii.*

*Torrismond.* GRANT she be [a tyrant, an  
usurper]

When from the conqueror we hold our lives  
We yield ourselves his subjects from that hour:  
For mutual benefits make mutual ties.

*Raymond (his father).* Why can you think I  
owe a thief my life,

Because he took it not by lawless force?  
What if he did not all the ill he could?  
Am I obliged by that t'assist his rapines,  
And to maintain his murders?

*Torrismond.* Not to maintain, but bear 'em un-  
revenged;

Kings titles commonly begin by force,  
Which time wears off and mellows into right:  
So power, which in one age is tyranny,  
Is ripen'd in the next to true succession.  
She's in possession.

*Raymond.* So diseases are.

*Should not a ling'ring fever be remov'd,*

*because*

Because it long has rag'd within our blood ?  
 Do I rebel when I would thrust it out ?  
 What, shall I think the world was made for one,  
 And men are born for kings as beasts for men,  
 Not for protection, but to be devour'd ?  
 Mark those who dote on arbitrary power,  
 And you shall find them either hot brain'd youth,  
 Or needy bankrupts, servile in their greatness,  
 And slaves to some to lord it o'er the rest.  
 O baseness, to support a tyrant throne,  
 And crush your free born brethren of the world !  
 Nay, to become a part of usurpation ;  
 To espouse the tyrant's person and her crimes,  
 And on a tyrant get a race of tyrants,  
 To be your country's curse in after-ages.

DRYDEN.

*Spanish Friar, act iv.*

THE man, who finds an unknown country out,  
 By giving it a name acquires, no doubt,  
 A gospel title, tho' the people there,  
 The pious Christian thinks not worth his care.  
 Bar this pretence, and into air is hurl'd  
 The claim of Europe to the *Western World*.

Cast by a tempest on a savage coast,  
 Some roving buccaneer set up a post ;  
 A beam, in proper form transversely laid,  
 Of his Redeemer's cross the figure made ;  
 Of that Redeemer, with whose laws his life,  
 From first to last, had been one scene of strife ;  
 His royal master's name thereon engrav'd,  
 Without more process the whole race enslaved ;

Cut off that charter they from nature drew,  
And made them slaves to men they never knew.

Search ancient histories, consult records,  
Under this title the most Christian Lords  
Hold (thanks to conscience) more than half the  
ball;

O'erthrow this title, they have none at all.

CHURCHIL.

*Gotham, vol. ii. p. 97.*

SOCIAL

## SOCIAL CONTRACT.

IN order to prove civil obedience to be a moral duty, and an obligation upon the conscience of the subject, it hath been usual with many political writers, at the head of whom we find the venerable name of LOCKE, to state a compact between the citizen and the state, as the ground and cause of the relation between them. This compact is two-fold.

First, an *express* compact by the primitive founders of the state, who are supposed to have convened for the declared purpose of settling the terms of their political union, and a future constitution of government. The whole body is supposed, in the first place, to have unanimously consented to be bound by the resolutions of the majority; that majority, in the next place, to have fixed certain fundamental regulations; and then to have constituted, either in one person, or in any assembly (the rule of succession or appointment being at the same time determined) a *standing legislature*, to whom, under these pre-established restrictions, the government of the state was thenceforward committed, and whose laws  
the

the several members of the convention were, by their first undertaking, thus personally engaged to obey.

Secondly, a tacit or implied contract by all succeeding members of the state, who by accepting its protection consent to be bound by its laws.

This account of the subject, although specious, and patronized by names the most respectable, is founded upon a supposition false in fact, and leading to dangerous conclusions.

No social compact, similar to what is here described, was ever made or entered into in reality ; no such original convention of the people was ever actually held, or in any country could be held, antecedent to the existence of civil government in that country. It is to suppose it possible to call savages out of caves and deserts, to deliberate and vote upon topics, which the experience, and studies, and refinements of civil life alone suggest. Therefore no government in the universe began from this original. Some imitation of a social compact may have taken place at a revolution. The present age has been witness to a transaction which bears the nearest resemblance to this political idea of any of which history has preserved the account or memory. I refer to the establishment of the United States of North America.—Yet even here much was pre-supposed. In settling the constitution many important parts were presumed to be already settled.—That was wanting from which every social union should set off, *and which alone makes the resolution of the society*

ciety the act of the individual, the unrestrained consent of all to be bound by the decision of the majority.—In all stipulations, whether they be expressed or implied, private or public, formal or constructive, the parties stipulating must both possess the liberty of assent and refusal, and also be conscious of this liberty; which cannot with truth be affirmed of the subjects of civil government, as government is now or ever was actually administered.—

No usage, law, or authority whatever, is so binding, that it need or ought to be continued, when it may be changed with advantage to the community. The family of the prince, the order of succession, the prerogative of the crown, the form and parts of the legislature, together with the respective powers, office, duration, and mutual dependency of the several parts, are only so many *laws*, mutable like other laws, whenever expediency requires, either by the ordinary act of the legislature, or, if the occasion deserves it, by the interposition of the people.

PALEY.

*Principles of Philosophy. b. vi. ch. 3.*

WERE you to preach, in most parts of the world, that political connections are founded all together on voluntary consent or a mutual promise, the magistrate would soon imprison you, as seditious, for loosening the ties of obedience; if your friends did not before shut you up as delirious for advancing such absurdities. It is strange, that an act of the mind, which every individual

is



is supposed to have formed, and after he came to the use of reason too, otherwise it could have no authority; that this act, I say, should be so much unknown to all of them, that, over the face of the whole earth, there scarcely remain any traces or memory of it.

But the contract, on which government is founded, is said to be the *original contract*; and consequently may be supposed too old to fall under the knowledge of the present generation. If the agreement, by which savage men first associated and conjoined their force, be here meant, this is acknowledged to be real; but being so ancient, and being obliterated by a thousand changes of government and princes, it cannot now be supposed to retain any authority. If we would say any thing to the purpose, we must assert that every particular government, which is lawful, and which imposes any duty of allegiance on the subject, was, at first, founded on consent and a voluntary compact. But besides that this supposes the consent of the fathers to bind the children, even to the most remote generations; besides this, I say, it is not justified by history or experience, in any age or country of the world.

Should it be said, that by living under the dominion of a prince, which one might leave, every individual has given a *tacit* consent to his authority, and promised him obedience; it may be answered, that such an implied consent can only have place, where a man imagines that the matter depends on his choice. But where he thinks

(as all mankind do that are born under established governments) that by his birth he owes allegiance to a certain prince, or certain form of government; it would be absurd to infer a consent or choice, which he expressly, in this case, renounces and disclaims.

Can we seriously say, that a poor peasant, or artisan, has a free choice to leave his country, when he knows no foreign language, or manners, and lives from day to day, by the small wages which he acquires? We may as well assert that a man, by remaining in a vessel, freely consents to the dominion of the master; though he was carried on board while asleep, and must leap into the ocean, and perish the moment he leaves her.

The truest *tacit* consent of this kind, that is ever observed, is when a foreigner settles in any country, and is beforehand acquainted with the prince, and government, and laws, to which he must submit: yet is his allegiance, though more voluntary, much less expected or depended on, than that of a natural born subject. On the contrary, his native prince still asserts a claim to him, and if he punish not the renegade, when he seizes him in war with the new prince's commission, this clemency is not founded on the municipal law, which in all countries condemns the prisoner; but on the consent of princes, who have agreed to this indulgence, in order to prevent reprisals.

Did one generation of men go off the stage at once, and another succeed, as is the case with  
silk-

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silk-worms and butterflies, the new race, if they had sense enough to choose their government, which surely is never the case with men, might voluntarily, and by general consent, establish their own form of civil polity, without any regard to the laws and precedents which prevailed among their ancestors. But as human society is in perpetual flux, one man every hour going out of the world, another coming into it, it is [impossible]

The case is precisely the same with the civil duty of *allegiance*, as with the natural duties of justice and fidelity. Our primary instincts lead us either to indulge ourselves in unlimited freedom, or to seek dominion over others: and it is reflection only, which engages us to sacrifice such strong passions to the interests of public order. A small degree of experience and observation suffices to teach us, that society cannot possibly be maintained without the authority of magistrates, and that this authority must soon fall into contempt, where exact obedience is not paid to it. The observation of these general and obvious interests, is the source of all allegiance, and of that moral obligation which we attribute to it.

What necessity therefore is there to found the duty of *allegiance* or obedience to magistrates on that of fidelity or a regard to promises, and to suppose that it is the consent of each individual, which subjects him to government; when it appears that both allegiance and fidelity stand precisely on the same foundation, and are both submitted to by mankind, on account of the apparent

rent interests and necessities of human society? We are bound to obey our sovereign, it is said; because we have given a tacit promise to that purpose. But why are we bound to observe our promise? It must here be asserted that the commerce and intercourse of mankind, which are of such mighty advantage, can have no security where men pay no regard to their engagements. In like manner may it be said, that men could not live at all in society, at least in a civilized society, without laws, and magistrates, and judges, to prevent the encroachments of the strong upon the weak, of the violent upon the just and equitable. The obligation to allegiance being of like force and authority with the obligation to fidelity, we gain nothing by resolving the one into the other. The general interests or necessities of society are sufficient to establish both.

If the reason be asked of that obedience which we are bound to pay to government, I readily answer, *because society could not otherwise subsist*: and this answer is clear and intelligible to all mankind. Your answer is, because we should keep our word. But besides, that no body, till trained in a philosophical system, can either comprehend or relish this answer; besides this, I say, you find yourself embarrassed when it is asked, why we are bound to keep our word. Nor can you give any answer, but what would immediately, without any circuit, have accounted for our obligation to allegiance.

HUME.

*Essays, vol. ii. p. 408.*

Now

Now it is reason and time that I show you when and wherefore ye may change your counsel without reproof. A man may change his purpose and his counsel, if the cause ceaseth; or when a new cause betideth. For the law saith, that upon things that newly betideth, behoveth new counsel. Thou mayst also change thy counsel, if so be thou find that by error or by any other cause, harm or damage may betide. Also if thy counsel be dishonest, or otherwise come of dishonest cause, change thy counsel. For the law saith, that all behests that be dishonest be of no value. And eke if so be that it be impossible or may not gladly be performed or kept.

And take this for a general rule, that every counsel that is enforced so strongly, that it may not be changed for no condition that may betide, I say that such counsel is wicked.

CHAUCER.

*Works, folio 74, edition 1598.*

THE whole principle of an original contract proceeds upon the obligation under which we are placed to observe our promises. The reasoning upon which it is founded is, that we have promised obedience to government, and therefore are bound to obey.

What is it then to which the obligation of a promise applies? What I have promised is either right or wrong. "I have promised to do something just and right." This certainly I ought to perform. Why? Not because I promised,  
but

but because justice prescribes it. "I have promised to bestow a sum of money upon some good and respectable purpose. In the interval between the promise and my fulfilling it, a greater and nobler purpose offers itself, and calls with an imperious voice for my co-operation." Which ought I to prefer? That which best deserves my preference. A promise can make no alteration in the case. I ought to be guided by the intrinsic merits of the objects, and not by any external and foreign consideration. No engagements of mine can change their intrinsic claims.—

Justice it appears therefore ought to be done, whether we have promised it or not. If we discover any thing to be unjust, we ought to abstain from it, with whatever solemnity we have engaged for its perpetration. We were erroneous and vicious when the promise was made; but this affords no sufficient reason for the performance.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, vol. i. b. iii. ch. 3.*

POLITICAL society is founded in the principles of morality and justice. It is impossible for intellectual beings to be brought into coalition and intercourse without a certain mode of conduct, adapted to their nature and connection, immediately becoming a duty on the parties concerned. Men would never have associated, if they had not imagined that in consequence of that as-

F

sociation





DESPOTISM.

THE simplest form of government is despotism, where all the inferior orbs of power are moved merely by the will of the supreme, and all that are subjected to them, directed in the same manner, merely by the occasional will of the magistrate. This form, as it is the most simple, so it is infinitely the most general. Scarce any part of the world is exempted from its power. And in those few places where men enjoy what they call liberty, it is continually in a tottering situation, and makes greater and greater strides to that gulph of despotism which at last swallows up every species of government. This manner of ruling being directed merely by the will of the weakest, and generally the worst man in the society, becomes the most foolish and capricious thing, at the same time that it is the most terrible and destructive that can well be conceived. In a despotism the principal person finds, that let the want, misery, and indigence of his subjects be what they will, he can yet possess abundantly of every thing to gratify his most insatiable wishes. He does more. He finds that these gratifications

drank, this hideous monster struck off the head of one of these wretches. As a particular mark of respect, this unnatural prince was desirous of procuring the ambassador the pleasure, as he called it, of trying his skill upon these miserable creatures. The czar was disposed to be angry at his refusal, and could not help betraying signs of his displeasure. This is not an invented tale, it is so true, that it is to be found in the narratives of M. de Printz, which are preserved in the archives. I have also mentioned it to a number of persons who were at Petersburg at the time, and they all attested its truth. It is not then a story known only to two or three individuals, it is a notorious fact.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

*Correspondence with Voltaire, let. 49.*

THE most formidable enemy of the public welfare is not riot or sedition, but despotism: it changes the character of a nation, and always for the worse: it produces nothing but vices. Whatever might be the power of an Indian sultan, he could never form magnanimous subjects; he would never find among his slaves the virtues of free men. Chymistry can extract no more gold from a mixed body than is included in it; and the most arbitrary power can draw nothing from a slave but the baseness he contains.—

What is arbitrary power? The seed of calamities, that, sown in the bosom of a state, springs up to bear the fruit of misery and devastation.

HELVETIUS.

*De l'Homme, &c. sect. iv. ch. ii.*

AN

AN English nobleman landed in Italy, ran over the country about Rome, and embarked hastily for England. "Why," he was asked, "do you quit this charming country?"—"Because," said he, "I can no longer bear to see the wretched looks of the Roman peasants; their misery torments me; they have not even a human aspect."

*Ib. Sect. iv. cb. xv. note (41.)*

AN Arab, bowed down by the weight of taxes, was unable to maintain himself and family. He laid his complaint before the caliph. The caliph was enraged; the Arab condemned to die. As he went to execution he met an officer escorting provisions. "For whom are those provisions?" said the poor condemned wretch. "For the caliph's dogs," replied the officer. "*How much better,*" cried the Arab, "*is the condition of a tyrant's dogs, than that of his subjects!*"

A slave in the presence of his tyrant has no opinion and no character. Thomas Kouli Khan supped with a favourite. A new kind of pulse was served up. "There is nothing more pleasant and wholesome than this pulse," said the monarch. "Nothing more pleasant and wholesome," said the courtier. After supper Kouli Khan found himself much indisposed, he could not sleep. When he arose, he said, "nothing can be more detestable and unwholesome than that pulse." "Nothing more detestable and unwholesome," said the courtier. "But you did not think so last night,"

“night,” said the prince, “what has made you change your opinion?”—“My respect and my dread,” replied the courtier. “I can curse the food with impunity: I am the slave of your highness and not of the pulse.”

The despot is a gorgon: he petrifies a man even to his thoughts, and like the gorgon is a terror to the world.

*Ib. Sect. ix. ch. x.*

MONTESQUEU compares the despotism of the East to a tree which the savage cuts down that he may gather its fruit. A simple fact stated in the journal, entitled *Political State of England*, will perhaps give a still more horrible picture of despotism.

The English, says the journalist, were besieged, in Fort William, by the troops of the suba, or viceroy of Bengal, and made prisoners. They were, to the number of 146, shut up in the black hole of Calcutta, which was only eighteen feet square. These unhappy beings, in one of the hottest climates in the world, and in the hottest season of that climate, received no air but by a window that was partly blocked up by the largeness of the bars. They were scarce entered when they found themselves bathed in perspiration, and tortured by thirst. Panting for breath, they sent forth lamentable cries, and begged, but in vain, to be placed in a larger prison. They endeavoured to put the air in motion with their hats, but the resource was ineffectual. Their senses left them, and the greater  
part

part fell to the earth and died. Those who remained drank the sweat of their companions; again cried for air, and to be put into two dungeons. For this purpose they addressed themselves to one of the guards of the prison, whose heart was open to compassion and avarice. He consented, for a large sum, to inform the suba of their situation. At his return, those who were alive were still crying out, from amidst the dead bodies, for fresh air, and to be released from the dungeon. "Wretches," said the guard, "you must all die, for the suba is asleep, and what slave dare wake him!" Such is despotism.

*Ib. Sect. v. cb. iv. note (15).*

DESPOTISM, while it is gaining ground, suffers men to say what they please, while they suffer it to do what it pleases: but once established, it forbids all talking, writing, or thinking. The minds of men then sink into apathy; all the inhabitants become slaves, curse the breast that gave them milk, and under such a government every new birth is an increase of misery. Genius, chained, drags its irons heavily along; it does not fly, it creeps. The sciences are neglected, ignorance is honoured, and every man of discernment declared an enemy to the state.

*Ib. Sect v. cb. x.*

ST. THOMAS, [in his commentaries on the 5th of the Politics, text xi.] says, "It is expedient to  
 " destroy

“ destroy men of talents, for such by their talents  
 “ may find means to expel tyranny. Nor should  
 “ schools be permitted, or other assemblies, by  
 “ which learning may be acquired; for learned  
 “ men have great dispositions and are magnani-  
 “ mous, and such men easily rebel. For the sup-  
 “ port of tyranny it is also necessary to impoverish  
 “ the people, for they will thereby be less able to  
 “ rise against the tyrant. Taxes should be esta-  
 “ blished, that is, exactions, which should be  
 “ great, and in great number; for thereby the  
 “ subjects will be the sooner impoverished. The  
 “ tyrant should excite wars among his subjects, or  
 “ else among strangers, so that the people may  
 “ have no opportunity of conspiring against  
 “ him.”

*Ib. Sect ix. cb. xxii. note (17).*

THE more silently to devour his people, the  
 despot, like the spider that incessantly twines new  
 threads round the insect it has made its prey, loads  
 them daily with new chains.

*Ib. Sect. iv. cb. xv.*

RENDER your subjects prosperous, said Prote-  
 silaus, and they will speedily refuse to labour;  
 they will become stubborn, proud, unsubmitive  
 to the yoke, and ripe for revolt. It is impotence  
 and misery that alone will render them supple, and  
 prevent them from rebelling against the dictates of  
 authority.

FENELON.

*Télémaque, liv. xiii.*

THE

THE resty knaves are over-run with ease,  
 As plenty ever is the nurse of faction.  
 If, in good days like these, the headstrong herd  
 Grow madly wanton and repine, it is  
 Because the reins of power are held too slack,  
 And reverend authority of late  
 Has worn a face of mercy more than justice.

ROWE.

*Jane Shore, act. iii.*

A DREARY silence, poverty, indolence, and dirt, were the striking features of this their first and most populous city [Tituan]. Its inhabitants are however their best looking people. Upon the banks of that little river which passes near the town, there is some tolerable cultivation, and some little gardens; but all of them jealously concealed, and curiously shut up, almost as much as their houses in town, where there is not a window, nor an opening to be seen.

The total want of society, and almost of conversation among themselves, seems to us equally dismal and surprising. People bred in such countries are totally ignorant of the social principle, which we suppose natural to man. Though yoked by nature to each other, and brought to live together in towns for mutual convenience, yet are they unacquainted with the pleasures of society, and incapable of enjoying them. Their very houses and gardens look like prisons to shut themselves up in, and to exclude every eye, and almost the light of the sun, and seem as it were to turn away from each other. When by chance two or three people

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ple are seen sitting together, which is seldom, and commonly upon their heels on the dirty ground, against a wall, it is all in silence: we seldom see them converse, I think, except when angry. Such are Eastern manners, and the effects of oppression! Men while oppressed beyond a certain degree are not communicative.

A sullen indolence and indifference seem to exclude every passion and principle of activity; and we do not yet see where the labour can be, in this country, sufficient to maintain its inhabitants. The Moorish character may be somewhat changed and degenerated since the times they flourished in Spain. The iron hand of tyranny has helped to render them still more selfish and malevolent; and, what is worse for society, helpless and indolent beings. Such are the subjects that despotism must ever expect to form!

JARDINE.

*Letters from Barbary, let. i.*

THIS country is well varied in hill and dale, and tolerably wooded. It is capable of every kind of cultivation, which it is now almost without.

The people are, at present, but little beyond the shepherd state of society. The arts are in a kind of perpetual infancy; not in a state of progression, as in Europe, but the same for, I suppose, these thousand years past. The plough, the mill, the loom, their lesser tools, and methods of working, are for ever the same—simple, trifling, slow, and imperfect, in the true Eastern style. Every idea  
of

of change or improvement is excluded by their law, and by ignorance of their wants.

*Ib. Let. ii.*

THE prince frequently asked me, as we rode along, if we had such fine country for riding. He meant so open and naked. Many great men are perhaps too subject to such ideas—from a William the Conqueror, or a King of Persia, down to a Polish lord, or feudal baron; and they consider their having room to ride or hunt, as of more importance than producing food for us all, and can even lay waste populous countries on purpose.

The visible terror of all who approached the prince, seems to give him pleasure; but would certainly give pain to a humane mind.

*Ib. Let. iv.*

THE chief employments of this strange, mock, royal family, seem to be quarrels among themselves, travelling about the kingdom, and extorting money from every body who has any. We have already seen some cruel instances of this mode of robbing by authority on both Jews and natives. In those cases of extortion, the whole process is comprised in two words, somewhat like those we use to dogs, viz. *seize 'em*; and the person to be arrested is presently grappled by a set of clumsy fellows, and almost squeezed to death in the operation of being carried to prison, though he makes no resistance.

The spirit of despotism is to let the people have

no rest, and this emperor has added, that they shall have no money. In order to maintain authority in such governments, it is perhaps necessary to let them frequently feel the power that is over them; for they might forget it, and fancy themselves free, if they could sleep a few nights in quiet. It requires the perpetual exertion of the master to keep the slave awake, and frequent acts of cruelty to maintain respect. What a loss and waste of powers on all sides! And, after all, the active principles of human nature can hardly be kept alive by such means. The greatest ambition and activity in the chief, the hopes of plunder, the regulations and employments he is obliged to contrive and superintend, so as to keep his subjects from the extremes of sleep or of mischief, may sometimes produce temporary exertions, but never a provident and habitual industry. Nothing can supply the place of natural liberty and security. Power may command labour but not genius or abilities. Muley Ishmael used to think it necessary to cut off innocent people's heads, as he rode along, on purpose to strike terror.

*Ib. Let. vi.*

THIS poor emperor, fearful and jealous even of his own creatures and sons, timidly cautious of delegating the smallest degree of power, has adopted the weak and impracticable system of doing every act of authority himself.—As he cannot be every where, he is perpetually sending for his alcaides and other magistrates of towns and districts. Those *he seems to wish to be considered only as a kind*  
of

of messenger, whom he sends to fleece the people, and bring all to him.

If any man, by chance or artifice, escape these fleecers, and is suspected of having money, he is sent for by the emperor, and imprisoned and tortured till he discovers it.

Those who discover the largest treasures have the best chance of being employed in this honourable magistracy, to serve as his majesty's blood-suckers, where they may most probably be again tortured and robbed, *de part le roy*.

His majesty's talents and information in this business of extortion and robbery are truly astonishing, especially in a monarch, and one of a character so indolent, capricious, and *etourdi*, as he appears to be. His undertaking the business that should be divided among hundreds, and yet to which he does not give one twentieth part of his time, is all according to the blind nature of despotism, which believes itself capable of every thing, and is in fact capable of nothing that is right or systematic,

*Ib. Let. vii.*

To live by one man's will is the cause of all men's misery.

*Old English Proverb.*

THEN all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah,

And said unto him, Behold thou art old, and

thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make unto us a king to judge us like all the nations.

But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us, and Samuel prayed unto the Lord.

And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me that I should not reign over them.

Now therefore hearken to their voice: howbeit, yet solemnly protest unto them, and show them the manner of the king that shall reign over them.

And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that asked of him a king.

And he said, this shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariot.

And he will take your daughters to be confectioners, and to be cooks and to be bakers.

And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants.

And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and to his servants.

And he will take your men servants and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work.

He

He will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants.

And ye shall cry out in that day, because of your king, and the Lord will not hear you in that day.

OLD TESTAMENT.

*Samuel, b. i. chap. viii.*

AND all the men of Shechem gathered together, and all the house of Millo, and went and made Abimelech king. \*

And when they told it to Jotham he went and stood in the top of Mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice, and cried, and said unto them, Hearken unto me ye men of Shechem, that God may hearken unto you.

The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive-tree, Reign thou over us.

But the olive-tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?

And the trees said unto the fig-tree, Come thou, and reign over us.

But the fig-tree said unto them, Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees?

Then said the trees unto the vine, Come thou, and reign over us.

And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine,

\* The word king here plainly means despot, and such are perpetual objects of invective in holy writ.

wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?

Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come thou and reign over us.

And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow; and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon.

And Jotham ran away and fled for fear of Abimelech his brother.

When Abimelech reigned three years over Israel;

Then God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem, and the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech.

*Ib. Judges, ch. ix.*

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TO THE NETTLE.

VILE weed, irascible! whene'er I view

Thy horrent leaves in circling points arise,

And know, that underneath each fibre lies

The keen receptacle of venom'd dew;

And when I know, that if, with cautious fear,

I touch thy power it punishes my dread:

But if, with dauntless hand approaching near

I grasp thee full and firm—that power is dead.

Thus as, with 'sdainful thought, I view thy stings—

Terrific to the coward wretch alone,

Much do I meditate on grandeur's throne—

The awe of subjects, and the might of kings,

OTIS

Like

Like thee, they punish those whom they appal ;  
Like thee, when firmly grasp'd, to native nothing  
fall.

ANONYMOUS.

*Morning Chronicle*

—LORD supreme o'er all this formal race,  
The cedar claims pre-eminence of place ;  
Like some great eastern king, it stands alone,  
Nor lets th' ignoble crowd approach its throne,  
Spreads out its haughty boughs that scorn to bend,  
And bids its shade o'er spacious fields extend ;  
While in the compass of its wide domain,  
Heaven sheds its soft prolific show'rs in vain :  
Secure and shelter'd every subject lies ;  
But robb'd of moisture, sickens, droops, and dies.

O image apt of man's despotic power,  
Which guards and shelters only to devour,  
Lifts high in air the splendours of its head,  
And bids its radiance o'er the nations spread ;  
While round its feet in silent anguish lie  
Hunger, despair, and meagre misery.

R. P. KNIGHT.

*Landscape : a Didactic Poem, b. ii. (1794.)*

ARISTO-



## ARISTOCRACY.

**BY** a tyrant is meant a sovereign who makes his humour the law, who seizes on the property of his subjects, and afterwards inlists them to go and give his neighbours the like treatment. These tyrants are not known in Europe.

Tyranny is distinguished into that of one person and of many. A body invading the rights of other bodies, and corrupting the laws, that it may exercise a despotism apparently legal, is the latter tyranny. But Europe likewise has none of these tyrants.

Under which tyranny would you chuse to live? Under none; but had I the option, the tyranny of one person appears to me less odious and dreadful than that of many. A despot has always some intervals of good humour, which is never known in an assembly of despots. If a tyrant has done me an injury, there is his mistress, his confessor, or his page, by means of whom I may appease him and obtain redress; but a set of supercilious tyrants is inaccessible to all applications. Under one despot, I need only stand up against a wall when I *see him coming by*, or prostrate myself, or knock

my

my forehead against the ground, according to the custom of the country; but under a body perhaps of a hundred despots, I may be obliged to repeat this ceremony a hundred times a day. Another disagreeable circumstance is, if my farm happens to be in the neighbourhood of one of our great lords, it is unknown what damages I am obliged to put up with; and if I have a law-suit with a relation of one of their high mightinesses, it will infallibly go against me. I am very much afraid, that in this world things will come to such a pass, as to have no other option than being either hammer or anvil. Happy he who gets clear of this alternative!

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosopb. Dict. art. Tyranny.*

FREE

## FREE GOVERNMENTS.

THE highest earthly felicity that a people can ask, or God can give, is an equal and well ordered commonwealth.

HARRINTON.  
*Political Aphorisms.*

THAT commonwealth is best ordered where the citizens are neither too rich nor too poor;

THALES.  
*Stanley's Hist. of Philosophy, part. 1. p. 26.*

THAT form of government appears to me the most reasonable which is most conformable to the equality we find in human nature, provided it be consistent with public peace and tranquility. This is what may properly be called liberty, which exempts one man from subjection to another as far the order and economy of government will permit.

SPECTATOR.  
*No. 287.*

BEFORE the increase of the Roman power, or rather till its full establishment, almost all the nations which are the scene of ancient history, were divided into petty commonwealths, where  
of

of course a great *equality of fortune* prevailed,—where each man had his little house and field to himself, free and independent. What a happy situation of mankind ! How favourable to *industry, agriculture, and propagation* ! The prolific virtue of men, were it to act in its full extent, without that restraint which poverty and necessity impose on it, would double the number every generation : and nothing surely can give it more liberty than such commonwealths.

HUME.

*Essays, vol. i. p. 356-7.*

MILDNESS of government contributes wonderfully to the increase of mankind. All republics are a convincing proof of this.—Nothing invites strangers more than liberty, and opulence, which always follows it. The former is courted for its own sake, and the calls of nature attract men to those countries where the latter is to be found.

The species multiplies wherever there is a sufficiency for the children without lessening the substance of their parents.

The equality of the inhabitants, which usually produces an equality in their fortunes, brings plenty, and conveys life into every part of the body politic.

The case is otherwise where the government is despotic ; the prince, the courtiers, and a few private men ingross all the riches, while the rest languish in want and misery.

If a man be in narrow circumstances, and finds himself likely to beget children poorer than himself,

self, he will decline marrying ; or if he marry, he will be afraid of having too great a number of children, who may utterly undo him, and be in a worse condition themselves than their fathers were at first.

Men are like plants, that never flourish if they are not well cultivated. Among a miserable people the species not only decreases, but sometimes degenerates also.

MONTESQUIEU.

*Persian Letters. Let. cxvii.*

COUNTRIES are generally peopled in proportion as they are free, and are certainly happy in that proportion ; and upon the same tract of land that would maintain a hundred thousand freemen in plenty, five thousand slaves would starve. Liberty naturally draws new people to it, as well as increases the old stock ; and men as naturally run, when they dare, from slavery and wretchedness. Hence great cities, losing their liberties, become desarts, and little towns by liberty grow great cities.

GORDON.

*Cato's Letters, vol. ii. No. 62.*

It is impossible for the arts and sciences to arise at first among any people, unless that people enjoy the blessing of a free government.—To expect that the arts and sciences should take their first rise in a monarchy is to expect a contradiction. Before these refinements have taken place, the monarch is ignorant and uninstructed, and not having knowledge sufficient to make him  
sensible

sensible of the necessity of balancing his government upon general laws, he delegates his full power to all inferior magistrates. This barbarous policy debases the people, and for ever prevents all improvements: a people governed after such a manner are slaves in the full and proper sense of the word; and it is impossible they can ever aspire to any refinements of taste or reason.

*Eloquence* certainly springs up more naturally in popular governments. *Emulation* too, in every accomplishment, must there be more animated and enlivened; and *genius* and *capacity* have a fuller scope and career.

HUME.

*Essays, vol. i. p. 105-6-8.*

REPUBLICS furnish the world with a greater number of *brave and excellent characters* than kingdoms: the reason is, that in republics virtue is honoured and promoted, in monarchies and kingdoms it incurs suspicion.

If a comparison be made between a mixed government, circumscribed and bounded by laws, and a popular government under the same ties, *the people* will be found *more virtuous* than the princes; if between loose and dissolute governments of each kind, the *errors* on the side of the people will be *less important*, less numerous, and more capable of redress. In popular tumults, a sober man may interpose, and by fair remonstrance recal the people to reason, but with an enraged prince who shall interfere? or what remedy is there but violence and the sword?

H

Among

Among commonwealths there are *greater constancy and firmer friendship*, than among princes. When leagues and confederacies are to be broken upon the mere prospect of self-interest, commonwealths are religious and severe, and examples may readily be brought where a small gain has tempted a prince, when a great one could not move a republic. In a speech to the Athenians, Themistocles informed them, that he had something to advise which would be infinitely to their advantage, but which he could not communicate in public, because to publish would be to defeat its execution. The people deputed Aristides to receive and act in it as he should think proper. Themistocles informed him, that the whole Grecian fleet (but under the Athenian passport and parole) were in a place where they might easily be taken or destroyed, which would render the Athenians masters of the sea. Aristides reported to the people that the counsel of Themistocles was advantageous, but would be a dishonour to the state ; whereupon it was unanimously rejected. Had the same occasion been offered to Philip of Macedon, or other princes, they would have been less scrupulous ; for princes are habituated to get more by breach of faith than by all their other projects.

In *wisdom, steadiness, and judgment*, the people have *greatly the advantage* of princes. By some occult and singular quality they frequently foresee the most astonishing events. For this reason the voice of the people is compared to the voice of God.

God. And in judging respecting matters that are doubtful you shall seldom find them mistaken. Let two orators, equally eloquent, discuss a subject before them, *pro* and *con*, they will be sure to take the most rational side: a proof that they are no less capable of truth than other orders of men.

In the election of magistrates they are equally infallible ; nor can they ever be prevailed upon to advance a corrupt and infamous character, than which nothing is more common with princes.

**MACHIAVEL.**

*Discourses, b. i. cb. 58 and 59.*

It is certain that the people, if left to themselves, do generally, if not always judge well.—They have their five senses in as great perfection, as have those who would treat them as if they had none.—And there is oftener found a great genius carrying a pitch-fork than carrying a white staff.

GORDON.

*Cato's Letters, vol. i. No. 22 and 24.*

A MAN that would be chosen by the people, will certainly be disappointed, if he bear the reputation of being a man of no honour : whereas at court he may easily insinuate himself into a post, agreeably to the maxim of a great prince, that a courtier, to make his fortune, should be without honour or pride.

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosoph. Dict. Art. Government.*

IN a republic the voice of the people hardly ever raises unworthy persons to high posts in the  
H 2 admini-



administration, making choice only of men of knowledge and abilities, who discharge their respective functions with honour: whereas those who generally make their way to such posts under a monarchical government are men of little minds and mean talents, who owe their preferment to the meritricious arts of flattery and intrigue. The public are less apt to be deceived in their choice than a prince, and a man of real merit is as rarely to be found in the ministry of a king, as a blockhead at the head of a republic.

ROUSSEAU.

*Du Contrat Social, liv. iii. ch. vi.*

THE popular election of magistrates, and popular disposition of rewards and honours, is one of the first advantages of a free state. Without it, or something equivalent to it, perhaps the people cannot long enjoy the substance of freedom; certainly none of the vivifying energy of good government.

BURKE.

*Thoughts on the Discontents, p. 44.*

I NEVER could be persuaded but it was more happy for a people to be disposed of by a number of persons, jointly interested and concerned with them, than to be numbered as the herd and inheritance of one, to whose lust and madness they were absolutely subject; and that any man of the weakest reason and generosity would not rather chuse for his habitation that spot of earth, where there was access to honour by virtue, and no worth could be excluded, than that where all advancement

vancement should proceed from the will 'of one, scarcely hearing or seeing with his own organs, and gained for the most part by means lewd and indirect : and all this in the end to amount to nothing else but a more splendid and dangerous slavery.

HARRINGTON.

*Oceana.*

THAT city thrives best where virtue is most esteemed and rewarded.

OLD ITALIAN PROVERB.

THE people have *no bias to be knaves*. No ambition prompts them ; no aspiring or unso- ciable passions incite them ; they have no rivals for place, no competitor to pull down ; they have no darling child, pimp, or relation to raise ; they have no occasion for dissimulation or intrigue ; they can serve no end by faction ; they have *no interest but the general interest*.

GORDON.

*Cato's Letters, vol. i. N. 24.*

IN all disputes between the people and their rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people. Experience may perhaps justify me in going farther. Where popular dis- contents have been very prevalent, it may well be affirmed and supported that there has been gene- rally something found amiss in the constitution or in the conduct of government. The people have no interest in disorder. When they do wrong it is their error and not their crime. But with the governing party of the state it is far other-

wise. They certainly may act ill by design as well as by mistake. *Les revolutions qui arrivent dans les grands etats ne sont point un effet du hazard, ni du caprice des peuples. Rien ne revolte les GRANDS d'un royaume comme un government foible et derangé. Pour LE POPULACE, c'est ne jamais par envie d'attaquer qu'elle se souleve, mais par impatience de souffrir.\** These are the words of a great man ; of a minister of state and a zealous asserter of monarchy. What he says of revolutions is equally true of all great disturbances.

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As long as a number of individuals united consider themselves as one body, they can have but one will, which relates to their common preservation and welfare. All the resources of the state are then simple and vigorous ; its political maxims clear and obvious ; it includes no intricate and opposite interests ; the public weal is demonstrably evident to all, and requires only the gift of common sense to understand it. Peace, concord, and equality are enemies to political subtleties. Men honest and simple are, from their very simplicity, not easily deceived ; they are not to be imposed upon by sophistry ; they are too artless to be duped. When it is known, that among the happiest people in the world, a number of peasants meet together under the shade of an oak, and regulate the affairs of state with the most prudential economy, is it possible to forbear despising the refinement

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That which deceives our reasoners on this subject is, that, seeing none but such states as were badly constituted at their beginning, they are struck with the impossibility of maintaining in them such a police.

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HUME.

*Essays, vol. i. p. 461-2.*

LAWS

## LAWS AND LAWYERS.

**LAW** we sometimes call the wisdom of our ancestors. But this is a strange imposition. It was as frequently the dictate of their passion, of timidity, jealousy, a monopolizing spirit, and a lust of power that knew no bounds.

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And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks:  
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*Citizen of the World, vol. i. let. xxxviii.*

*Salus populi suprema lex*, and laws, except they be in order to that end, are things captious, and oracles not well inspired.

There be (saith the scripture) that turn judgment into wormwood; and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour.

Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences, for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws.

One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples.

Contentious suits ought to be spewed out as the surfeits of courts.

The attendants of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell and the country pine. The second sort, is those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*; in puffing up a court beyond her bounds, for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts, persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, where-

unto,

unto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather,  
he is sure to lose part of his fleece.

LORD BACON.

*Works. vol. iii. p. 377-8.*

IN proportion as we have deviated from the plain rule of our nature, and turned our reason against itself, in that proportion have we increased the follies and miseries of mankind. The more deeply we penetrate into the labyrinth of art, the further we find ourselves from those ends for which we entered into it. This has happened in almost every species of artificial society, and in all times. We found, or we thought we found, an inconvenience in having every man the judge of his own cause. Therefore judges were set up, at first with discretionary powers. But it was soon found a miserable slavery to have our lives and properties precarious, and hanging upon the arbitrary determination of any one man or set of men. We flew to laws as a remedy for this evil. By these we persuaded ourselves we might know with some certainty upon what ground we stood. But lo! differences arose upon the sense and interpretation of these laws. Thus we were brought back to our old incertitude. New laws were made to expound the old; and new difficulties arose upon the new laws; as words multiplied, opportunities of cavilling upon them multiplied also. Then recourse was had to notes, comments, glosses, reports, *responsa prudentum*, learned readings. Eagle stood against Eagle: authority was set up against authority. Some were allured by the modern, others revered the ancient.

antient. The new were to be enlightened, the old more venerable. Some adopt the comment, others stuck to the text. The confusion increased, the mist thickened, until it could be discovered no longer what was allowed or forbidden, what things were in property and what common. In this uncertainty, (uncertain even to the professors, an Egyptian darkness to the rest of mankind; the contending parties felt themselves more cruelly ruined by the delay than they could have been by the injustice of any decision. Our inheritances are become a prize for disputation; and disputes and litigations are become an inheritance.

The professors of artificial law have always walked hand in hand with the professors of artificial theology. As their end, in confounding the reason of man, and abridging his natural freedom, is exactly the same, they have adjusted the means to that end in a way entirely similar. The divine thunders out his *anathemas* with more noise and terror against the breach of one of his positive institutions, or the neglect of some of his trivial forms, than against the neglect or breach of those duties and commandments of natural religion, which by these forms and institutions he pretends to enforce. The lawyer has his forms and his positive institutions too, and he adheres to them with a veneration altogether as religious. The worst cause cannot be so prejudicial to the litigant, as his advocate's or attorney's ignorance or neglect of these forms. A law-suit is like an ill managed dispute, in which the first object is soon out of sight, and the parties end upon a matter wholly foreign to that on which they

wise. They certainly may act ill by design as well as by mistake. *Les revolutions qui arrivent dans les grands etats ne sont point un effet du hazard, ni du caprice des peuples. Rien ne revolte les GRANDS d'un royaume comme un government foible et derangé. Pour LE POPULACE, c'est ne jamais par envie d'attaquer qu'elle se souleve, mais par impatience de souffrir.\** These are the words of a great man; of a minister of state and a zealous asserter of monarchy. What he says of revolutions is equally true of all great disturbances.

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*Salus populi suprema lex*, and laws, except they be in order to that end, are things captious, and oracles not well inspired.

There be (saith the scripture) that turn judgment into wormwood; and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour.

Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences, for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws.

One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples.

Contentious suits ought to be spewed out as the surfeits of courts.

The attendants of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits, which make the court swell and the country pine. The second sort, is those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*; in puffing up a court beyond her bounds, for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts, persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush, where-

unto,

unto, while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece.

LORD BACON.

*Works. vol. iii. p. 377.*

IN proportion as we have deviated from the plain rule of our nature, and turned our reason against itself, in that proportion have we increased the follies and miseries of mankind. The more deeply we penetrate into the labyrinth of art, the further we find ourselves from those ends for which we entered into it. This has happened in almost every species of artificial society, and in all times. We found, or we thought we found, an inconvenience in having every man the judge of his own cause. Therefore judges were set up, at first with discretionary powers. But it was soon found a miserable slavery to have our lives and properties precarious, and hanging upon the arbitrary determination of any one man or set of men. We flew to laws as a remedy for this evil. By these we persuaded ourselves we might know with some certainty upon what ground we stood. But lo! differences arose upon the sense and interpretation of these laws. Thus we were brought back to our old incertitude. New laws were made to expound the old; and new difficulties arose upon the new laws; as words multiplied; opportunities of cavilling upon them multiplied also. Then recourse was had to notes, comments, glosses, reports, *responsa prudentum*, learned readings. Eagle stood against Eagle; authority was set up against authority. Some ~~were allured by the modern~~, others revered the  
ancient.

antient. The new were more enlightened, the old more venerable. Some adopted the comment, others stuck to the text. The confusion increased, the mist thickened, until it could be discovered no longer what was allowed or forbidden, what things were in property and what common. In this uncertainty, (uncertain even to the professors, an Egyptian darkness to the rest of mankind) the contending parties felt themselves more effectually ruined by the delay than they could have been by the injustice of any decision. Our inheritances are become a prize for disputation; and disputes and litigations are become an inheritance.

The professors of artificial law have always walked hand in hand with the professors of artificial theology. As their end, in confounding the reason of man, and abridging his natural freedom, is exactly the same, they have adjusted the means to that end in a way entirely similar. The divine thunders out his *anathemas* with more noise and terror against the breach of one of his positive institutions, or the neglect of some of his trivial forms, than against the neglect or breach of those duties and commandments of natural religion, which by these forms and institutions he pretends to enforce. The lawyer has his forms and his positive institutions too, and he adheres to them with a veneration altogether as religious. The worst cause cannot be so prejudicial to the litigant, as his advocate's or attorney's ignorance or neglect of these forms. A law-suit is like an ill managed dispute, in which the first object is soon out of sight, and the parties end upon a matter wholly foreign to that on which they

they began. In a law-suit the question is, who has a right to a certain house or farm? And this question is daily determined, not upon the evidences of the right, but upon the observance or neglect of some forms of words in use with the gentlemen of the robe, about which there is even amongst themselves such a disagreement, that the most experienced veterans in the profession can never be positively assured that they are not mistaken.

Let us expostulate with these learned sages, these priests of the sacred temple of justice. Are we judges of our own property? By no means. You then, who are initiated into the mysteries of the blindfold Goddess, inform me whether I have a right to eat the bread I have earned by the hazard of my life or the sweat of my brow? The grave doctor answers me in the affirmative. The reverend serjeant replies in the negative. The learned barrister reasons upon one side and upon the other, and concludes nothing. What shall I do? An antagonist starts up and presses me hard. I enter the field, and retain these three persons to defend my cause. My cause, which two farmers from the plough could have decided in half an hour, takes the court twenty years. I am however at the end of my labour, and have in reward for all my toil and vexation, a judgment in my favour. But hold—a sagacious commander in the adversary's army has found a flaw in the proceeding. My triumph is turned into mourning. I have used *or*, instead of *and*, or some mistake, small in appearance, but dreadful in its consequences, and have the whole of my success quash-

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ed in a writ of error. I remove my suit; I shift from court to court; I fly from equity to law, and from law to equity; equal uncertainty attends me every where: and a mistake, in which I had no share, decides at once upon my liberty and property, sending me from a court to a prison, and adjudging my family to beggary and famine. I am innocent, gentlemen, of the darkness and uncertainty of your science. I never darkened it with absurd and contradictory notions, nor confounded it with chicane and sophistry. You have excluded me from any share in the conduct of my own cause; the science was too deep for me; I acknowledged it; but it was too deep even for yourselves: you have made the way so intricate, that you are yourselves lost in it: you err, and you punish me for your errors.

The delay of the law, you will tell me, is a trite topic; and which of its abuses have not been too severely felt not to be often complained of? A man's property is to serve for the purposes of his support; and therefore to delay a determination concerning that, is the worst injustice, because it cuts off the very end and purpose for which I applied to the judicature for relief. Quite contrary in case of a man's life, there the determination can hardly be too much protracted. Mistakes in this case are as often fallen into as in any other, and if the judgment is sudden, the mistakes are the most irretrievable of all others. Of this the gentlemen of the robe are themselves sensible, and they have brought it into a maxim. *De morte*



*hominis nulla est cunctatio longa.* But what could have induced them to reverse the rules, and to contradict that reason which dictated them, I am utterly unable to guess. A point concerning property, which ought, for the reasons I just mentioned, to be most speedily decided, frequently exercises the wit of successions of lawyers, for many generations. *Multa virum volvens durando sæcula vincit.* But the question concerning a man's life, that great question in which no delay ought to be counted tedious, is commonly determined in twenty-four hours at the utmost. It is not to be wondered at, that injustice and absurdity should be inseparable companions.

Ask of politicians the end for which laws were originally designed, and they will answer, that the laws were designed as a protection for the poor and weak, against the oppression of the rich and powerful. But surely no pretence can be so ridiculous; a man might as well tell me he has taken off my load, because he has changed the burden. If the poor man is not able to support his suit, according to the vexatious and expensive manner established in civilized countries, has not the rich as great an advantage over him as the strong has over the weak in a state of nature?

A good parson once said, that where mystery begins, religion ends. Canot I say, as truly at least, of human laws, that where mystery begins, justice ends? It is hard to say, whether the doctors of law or divinity have made the greater advances in the lucrative business of mystery. The lawyers,

lawyers, as well as the theologians, have erected another reason besides natural reason ; and the result has been another justice besides natural justice. They have so bewildered the world and themselves in unmeaning forms and ceremonies, and so perplexed the plainest matters with metaphysical jargon, that it carries the highest danger to a man out of that profession, to make the least step without their advice and assistance. Thus by confining to themselves the knowledge of the foundation of all men's lives and properties, they have reduced all mankind to the most abject and servile dependence. We are tenants at the will of these gentlemen for every thing ; and a metaphysical quibble is to decide whether the greatest villain breathing shall meet his deserts, or escape with impunity ; or whether the best man in the society shall not be reduced to the lowest and most despicable condition it affords. In a word, the injustice, delay, puerility, false refinement, and affected mystery of the law, are such, that many who live under it come to admire and envy the expedition, simplicity, and equality of arbitrary judgments.

BURKE, *Vindication of Natural Society*, p. 80—89.

"I HAD informed [my master] that some of our crew left their country on account of their being ruined by law. I had already explained the meaning of the word : but he was at a loss, how it should come to pass, that the law, which was intended for every man's preservation, should be

any man's ruin. Therefore he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by law, and the dispensers thereof, according to the present practice in my own country : because he thought nature and reason were sufficient guides for a reasonable animal, as we pretended to be, in shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I said, there was a society of men among us bred up from their youth in the art of proving, by words multiplied for the purpose, that white is black, and black is white, according as they are paid. To this society all the rest of the people are slaves. For example, if my neighbour hath a mind to my cow, he hires a lawyer to prove that he ought to have my cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my right, it being against all rules of law, that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now in this case I, who am the right owner, lie under two great disadvantages ; first, my lawyer, being practised almost from his cradle in defending falsehood, is quite out of his element, when he would be an advocate for justice, which is an unnatural office he always attempts with great awkwardness, if not with ill-will. The second disadvantage is, that my lawyer must proceed with great caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the judges, and abhorred by his brethren, as one that would lessen the practice of the law. And therefore I have but two methods to preserve my cow. The first is, to gain over my adversary's lawyer with a double fee ; who will then betray his client by insinuating,

sinuating, that he hath justice on his side. The second way is, for my lawyer to make my cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the cow to belong to my adversary ; and this, if it be skillfully done, will certainly bespeak the favour of the bench. Now your honour is to know, that these judges are persons appointed to decide all controversies of property, as well as for the trial of criminals, and picked out from the most dexterous lawyers who are grown old or lazy ; and having been biassed all their lives against truth and equity, lie under such a fatal necessity of favouring fraud, perjury, and oppression, that I have known some of them refuse a large bribe from the side where justice lay, rather than injure the faculty by doing any thing unbecoming their nature or their office.

It is a maxim among these lawyers, that whatever hath been done before, may legally be done again : and therefore they take special care to record all the decisions formerly made against common justice, and the general reason of mankind. These, under the name of precedents, they produce as authorities, to justify the most iniquitous opinions, and the judges never fail of directing accordingly.

In pleading they studiously avoid entering into the merits of the cause ; but are loud, violent, and tedious in dwelling upon all circumstances which are not to the purpose. For instance, in the case already mentioned ; they never desire to know what claim or title my adversary hath to my

cow; but whether the said cow were red or black; her horns long or short; whether the field I graze her in be round or square; whether she was milked at home or abroad; what diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult precedents, adjourn the cause from time to time, and in ten, twenty, or thirty years come to an issue.

It is likewise to be observed, that this society hath a peculiar cant and jargon of their own, that no other mortal can understand, and wherein all their laws are written, which they take special care to multiply; whereby they have wholly confounded the very essence of truth and falsehood, of right and wrong; so that it will take thirty years to decide, whether the field left me by my ancestors for six generations belongs to me or to a stranger three hundred miles off.

In the trial of persons accused for crimes against the state, the method is much more short and commendable: the judge first sends to sound the disposition of those in power, after which he can easily hang or save a criminal, strictly preserving all due forms of law.\*

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iii. ch. v.*

MY

\* Swift, as appears from this passage, did not foresee the spirit and independence that would be displayed by British Juries in the year 1794. It is not necessary to refer to other trials and their juries, to show the accuracy of his estimate with respect to the issue of state prosecutions in general.

My cause came on in one of the courts of parliament, and it was unanimously given against me. My counsellor told me, that in another court I should as unanimously have gained it. "Very singular," said I, "then so many courts so many laws." "Yes," said he, "there are no less than twenty-five commentaries on the common law at Paris; that is, the Paris common law has been twenty-five times proved to be ambiguous, and were there twenty-five courts, there would be twenty-five different bodies of laws. We have," continued he, "a province called Normandy, about fifteen leagues from Paris, and there your cause would have been decided quite otherwise than here." This made me desirous of seeing Normandy, and I went thither with one of my brothers. At the first inn we came to was a young man storming most furiously. I asked him what was the matter? "Matter enough," answered he; "I have an elder brother."—"Where is the mighty misfortune of having a brother?" said I to him, "my brother is my elder, and yet we live very easy together."—"But here, sir," said he, "the damned law gives every thing to the elder, and the younger may shift for themselves."—"If that be the case," said I, "you may well be angry; with us things are equally divided; yet sometimes brothers do not love one another the better for it."

These little adventures led me to some very profound reflections on laws, and I found them to be like our garments. At Constantinople it is proper

to wear a doliman, and at Paris a coat. If all human laws are by compact, said I, the only point is to make good bargains. The citizens of Delhi and Agra say, that they made a very bad agreement with Tamerlane. The citizens of London, again, value themselves for the good bargain they made with King William III. One of that opulent body was saying to me, It is necessity which makes laws, and force causes them to be observed. I asked him whether force did not likewise make laws, and whether William the Conqueror had not prescribed to England laws without any previous convention? "Yes," said he, "we were then oxen, and William put a yoke upon us, and goaded us along. Since those times we are become men, but with our horns still remaining, we are sure to gore any one that will make us plough for him and not for ourselves."

Full of these reflections, I was pleased to find, that there is a natural law independent of all human conventions: that the fruit of my labour should be my own; that I have no right to my neighbour's life, nor my neighbour to mine, &c. But when it came into my mind, that, from Chedolaomer down to Mentzel, colonel of hussars, it has been customary to shew one's loyalty by effusion of human blood, and to pillage one's neighbour by patent, I was touched to the heart.

I am told that robbers had their laws, and that war has also its laws. On my asking what were those laws of war? I was answered, It is to hang up a prisoner, if one of your men has been hanged

by

by the enemy. It is to burn and destroy those villages which have not brought in their whole subsistence at the day appointed by the gracious sovereign of the neighbourhood. So that is the spirit of laws, said I.

By farther information I heard of some very wise laws condemning a shepherd to the galleys for nine years, for giving a little foreign salt to his sheep. A neighbour of mine had been ruined by an indictment for cutting down two oaks in his own wood, not observing a formality which he had not been able to know any thing of: his wife died of grief in extreme distress, and his son lives, if it may be so called, in wretchedness. I own that these laws are just, though the execution of them is a little too hard: but I cannot bear those laws which authorise a hundred thousand men to go, under the pretence of loyalty, and massacre as many of their peaceable neighbours. The generality of men appear to be naturally endowed with sense enough to make laws, but then it is not every one who has virtue sufficient to enact good ones.

Should Tamerlane come and subdue India, you will see nothing but arbitrary laws. One shall squeeze a province to enrich a publican of Tamerlane's; another shall make it high treason, only for having dropped a free word concerning the mistress of the raja's first valet de chambre; a third shall take away from the farmer half his harvest, and dispute the remainder with him; and what is worse than all this, there shall be laws by which a

Tartar



Tartar messenger shall come and take away your children in the cradle, make them soldiers or eunuchs, according to their constitutions, and leave the father and mother to wipe away each other's tears.

Now whether is it best, to be Tamerlane's dog or his subject? Doubtless his dog has by much the best of it.

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosoph. Dict. Art. Laws.*

The laws of a nation are the rules which govern the conduct of its citizens. They are the principles which direct the actions of the people, and are the foundation of the state. The laws of a nation are the result of the wisdom and justice of its rulers, and are the basis of the rights and liberties of its subjects. The laws of a nation are the principles which govern the conduct of its citizens, and are the foundation of the state. The laws of a nation are the result of the wisdom and justice of its rulers, and are the basis of the rights and liberties of its subjects. The laws of a nation are the principles which govern the conduct of its citizens, and are the foundation of the state. The laws of a nation are the result of the wisdom and justice of its rulers, and are the basis of the rights and liberties of its subjects.

PENAL

PENAL LAWS.

**AMONG** the pamphlets you lately sent me, was one, entitled, *Thoughts on Executive Justice*. In return for that, I send you a French one on the same subject. They are both addressed to the judges, but written, as you will see, in a very different spirit. The English author is for hanging *all* thieves; the French is for proportioning punishments to offences.

If we really believe, as we profess to believe, that the law of Moses was the law of God, the dictate of divine wisdom, infinitely superior to human, on what principles do we ordain death as the punishment of an offence, which, according to that law, was only to be punished by a restitution of four-fold? To put a man to death for an offence which does not deserve death, is it not a murder? And, as the French writer says, *Doit-on punir un delit contre la société par un delit contre nature?* \*

Superfluous property is the creature of society. Simple and mild laws were sufficient to guard the property

\* Ought a crime against society to be punished by a crime against nature?

property that was merely necessary. The savage's bow, his hatchet, and his coat of skins, were sufficiently secured, without law, by the fear of personal resentment and retaliation. When, by virtue of the first laws, part of the society accumulated wealth and grew powerful, they enacted others more severe, and would protect their property at the expence of humanity. This was abusing their power, and commencing a tyranny. If a savage, before he entered into society, had been told—"Your neighbour by this means may become owner of an hundred deer; but if your brother, or your son, or yourself, having no deer of your own, and being hungry, should kill one, an infamous death must be the consequence:" he would probably have preferred his liberty, and his common right of killing any deer, to all the advantages of society that might be proposed to him.

That it is better a hundred guilty persons should escape, than that one innocent person should suffer, is a maxim that has been long and generally approved; never, that I know of, controverted. Even the sanguinary author of the *Thoughts* agrees to it, adding well, "that the very thought of injured innocence, and much more that of suffering innocence, must awaken all our tenderest and most compassionate feelings, and at the same time raise our highest indignation against the instruments of it. But," he adds, "there is no danger of either from a strict adherence to the laws,"—Really!—Is it then impossible to  
make

make an unjust law? And if the law itself be unjust, may it not be the "instrument" which ought "to raise the author's and every body's highest indignation?" I see, in the last newspapers from London, that a woman is capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, for privately stealing out of a shop some gauze, value fourteen shillings and three-pence. Is there any proportion between the injury done by a theft, value fourteen shillings and three-pence, and the punishment of a human creature, by death, on a gibbet? Might not that woman, by her labour, have made the reparation, ordained by God, in paying fourfold? Is not all punishment inflicted beyond the merit of the offence, so much punishment of innocence? In this light, how vast is the annual quantity, of not only *injured* but *suffering* innocence, in almost all the civilized states of Europe!

But it seems to have been thought, that this kind of innocence may be punished by way of *preventing* crimes. I have read, indeed, of a cruel Turk in Barbary, who, whenever he bought a slave, ordered him immediately to be hung up by the legs, and to receive a hundred blows of a cudgel on the soles of his feet, that the severe sense of the punishment, and fear of incurring it thereafter, might prevent the faults that should merit it. Our author himself would hardly approve entirely of this Turk's conduct in the government of slaves; and yet he appears to recommend something like it for the government of English subjects, when he applauds the reply of Judge  
Burnet

Brinet to the convict horse-stealer; who, being asked what he had to say why judgment of death should not pass against him, and answering that it was hard to hang a man for *only* stealing a horse, was told by the judge, "Man, thou art not to be hanged *only* for stealing a horse, but that horses may not be stolen." The man's answer, if candidly examined, will, I imagine, appear reasonable, as founded on the eternal principle of justice and equity, that punishments should be proportioned to offences; and the judge's reply brutal and unreasonable; though the writer "wishes all judges to carry it with them whenever they go the circuit, and to bear it in their minds, as containing a wise reason for all the penal statutes which they are called upon to put in execution." It at once illustrates," says he, "the true grounds and reasons of all capital punishments whatsoever, namely, that every man's property, as well as his life, may be held inviolable." Is there then no difference in value between property and life? If I think it right that the crime of murder should be punished with death, not only as an equal punishment of the crime, but to prevent other murders, does it follow that I must approve of inflicting the same punishment for a little invasion on my property by theft? If I am not myself so barbarous, so bloody-minded and revengeful, as to kill a fellow creature for stealing from me fourteen shillings and three-pence, how can I approve of a law that does it? Montesquieu, who was himself a judge, endeavours to impress

other maxims. He must have known what humane judges feel on such occasions, and what the effects of those feelings; and, so far from thinking that severe and excessive punishments prevent crimes, he asserts, as quoted by our French writer, that

*La atrocité des loix en empêche l'exécution.*

*Lorsque la peine est sans mesure, on est souvent obligé de lui préférer l'impunité.*

*La cause de tous le relâchemens vient de l'impunité des crimes, et non de la moderation des peines.*

It is said by those who know Europe generally, that there are more thefts committed and punished annually in England, than in all the other nations put together. If this be so, there must be a cause or causes for such depravity in our common people. May not one be the deficiency of justice and morality in our national government, manifested in our oppressive conduct to subjects, and unjust wars on our neighbours? View the long persisted in; unjust, and monopolizing treatment of Ireland; at length acknowledged! View the plundering government exercised by our merchants in the Indies; the confiscating war made upon the American colonies; and to say nothing of those upon France and Spain, view the late war upon Holland, which was seen by impartial Europe in no other light

\* The excessive severity of laws hinders their execution.

When the punishment is extremely disproportionate, impunity is often obliged to be preferred to it. All corruptions proceed from impunity, not from the mildness of punishments.

that of a war of rapine and pillage; the hopes of immense and easy prey being its apparent, and probably its true and real motive and encouragement. Justice is as strictly due between neighbour nations as between neighbour citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang, as when single; and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang. After employing your people in robbing the Dutch, is it strange that, being put out of that employ by peace, they still continue robbing, and rob one another? *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the universal bent of the English nation, at home and abroad, wherever settled. No less than seven hundred privateers were, it is said, commissioned in the last war! These were fitted out by merchants to prey upon other merchants, who had never done them any injury. Is there probably any one of those privateering merchants of London, who were so ready to rob the merchants of Amsterdam, that would not as readily plunder another London merchant of the next street, if he could do it with the same impunity? The avidity, the *alieni appetens*, is the same; it is the fear alone of the gallows that makes the difference. How then can a nation, which, among the honestest of its people, has so many thieves by inclination, and whose government encouraged and commissioned no less than seven hundred gangs of robbers; how can such a nation have the face to condemn the crime in individuals, and hang up twenty of them in a morning? It naturally puts one in mind of a  
Newgate

Newgate anecdote. One of the prisoners complained that in the night somebody had taken his buckles out of his shoes. "What the devil!" says another, "have we then *thieves* among us?" "It must not be suffered. Let us search out the rogue and pump him to death."

FRANKLIN.

*Works. Essays, p. 164.*

THE useless profusion of punishments, which has never made men better, induces me to enquire whether the punishment of death be really just or useful in a well governed state. What right have men to cut the throats of their fellow creatures. —It is a war of a whole nation against a citizen, whose destruction they consider as useful to the general good.

If the experience of all ages be not sufficient to show, that the punishment of death has never prevented determined men from injuring society, let us consult human nature in proof of the assertion.

The terrors of death make so light an impression that it has not force enough to withstand the forgetfulness natural to mankind, even in the most essential things; especially when assisted by the passions. Violent impressions surprise us, but their effect is momentary. The execution of a criminal is, to the multitude, a spectacle which in some excites compassion mixed with indignation.

—There are many who can look upon death with intrepidity and firmness; some through fanaticism, others through vanity; others from a desperate re-

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solution



solution to get rid of their misery, or cease to live.

Let us for a moment attend to the reasoning of a robber or assassin, who is deterred from violating the laws by the gibbet or the wheel. He reasons thus: "What are these laws that I am bound to respect, which make so great a difference between me and the rich man? He refuses me the farthing I ask of him, and excuses himself, by bidding me have recourse to labour with which he is unacquainted. Who made these laws? The rich and the great, who never deigned to visit the miserable hut of the poor, who have never seen him dividing a piece of mouldy bread amidst the cries of his famished children and the tears of his wife. Let us break those ties fatal to the greatest part of mankind, and useful only to a few indolent tyrants. Let us attack injustice at its source. I will return to my natural state of independence. I shall live free and happy on the fruits of my courage and industry. A day of pain and repentance may come, but it will be short; and for an hour of grief I shall enjoy years of pleasure and liberty. King of a small number, as determined as myself, I will correct the mistakes of fortune; and I shall see those tyrants grow pale and tremble at the sight of him, whom with insulting pride they would not suffer to rank with their dogs and horses."

Religion then presents itself to the mind, and promising him almost a certainty of eternal happiness.

piness upon the easy terms of repentance, contributes greatly to lessen the horror of the last scene of the tragedy.

The punishment of death is pernicious to society, from the example of barbarity it affords. If the passions, or the necessity of war, have taught men to shed the blood of their fellow creatures, the laws, which are intended to moderate the ferocity of mankind, should not increase it by examples of barbarity, the more horrible as this punishment is usually attended with formal pageantry. Is it not absurd that the laws, which detest and punish homicide, should, in order to prevent murder, publicly commit murder themselves?—

What are the natural sentiments of every person concerning the punishment of death? We may read them in the contempt and indignation with which every one looks on the executioner; who is nevertheless an innocent executor of the public will? What then is the origin of this contradiction? Why is this sentiment of mankind indelible? It is, that in a secret corner of the mind, in which the original impressions of nature are still preserved, men discover a sentiment which tells them, that their lives are not lawfully in the power of any one, but of that necessity only, which, with its iron sceptre, rules the universe.

What must men think when they see wise magistrates and grave ministers of justice, with indifference and tranquility, dragging a criminal to death, and whilst a wretch trembles with agony, expecting the fatal stroke, the judge who has con-

demned him, with the coldest insensibility, and perhaps, with no small gratification from the exertion of his authority, quits his tribunal to enjoy the comforts and pleasures of life? They will say: "Ah! those cruel formalities of justice are  
 " a cloak to tyranny; they are a secret language,  
 " a solemn veil, intended to conceal the sword by  
 " which we are sacrificed to the insatiable idol of  
 " despotism. Murder, which they would represent to us as an horrible crime, we see practised  
 " by them without repugnance or remorse. Let  
 " us follow their example. A violent death appeared terrible in their descriptions, but we see  
 " that it is the affair of a moment. It will be  
 " still less terrible to him, who, not expecting it,  
 " escapes almost all the pain." Such is the fatal though absurd reasoning of men who are disposed to commit crimes.

If it be objected, that almost all nations in all ages have punished certain crimes with death; I answer, that the force of these examples vanishes, when opposed to truth, against which prescription is urged in vain. The history of mankind is an immense sea of errors, in which a few obscure truths may here and there be found.

BECCARIA.

*Crimes and Punishments, cb. xxviii.*

As ten millions of circles can never make a square, so the united voice of myriads cannot lend the smallest foundation to falsehood.—It were to be wished then that, instead of cutting away *wretches* as useless, before we have tried their utility,

lity, [and thus] converting correction into vengeance, it were to be wished that we tried the restrictive arts of government; and made the law the protector, and not the tyrant of the public. We should then find that creatures, whose souls are held as dross, only wanted the hand of a refiner; we should then find that wretches now stuck up for long tortures, lest luxury should feel a momentary pang, might, if properly treated, serve to sinew the state in times of danger; that, as their faces are like ours, their hearts are so too; that few minds are so base as that perseverance cannot amend; that a man may see his last crime without dying for it; and that very little blood will serve to cement our security.

GOLDSMITH.

*Vicar of Wakefield, cb. xxviii.*

THE punishment of criminals should be of use; when a man is hanged he is good for nothing.

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosopb. Dict. Art. Civil Laws.*

PENAL laws pressed are a shower of snares upon the people.

LORD BACON,

*Works, vol. iii. p. 377.*

## LAWS OF INSOLVENCY.

**THERE** are two capital faults in our law with relation to civil debts. One is, that every man is presumed solvent. A presumption, in innumerable cases, directly against the truth. Therefore the debtor is ordered, on a supposition of ability and fraud, to be coerced his liberty until he makes payment. By this means, in all cases of civil insolvency, without a pardon from his creditor, he is to be imprisoned for life ;—and thus a miserable mistaken invention of artificial science, operates to change a civil into a criminal judgment, and to scourge misfortune or indiscretion with a punishment which the law does not inflict on the greatest crimes.

The next fault is, that the inflicting of that punishment is not on the opinion of an equal and public judge ; but is referred to the arbitrary discretion of a private, nay interested, and irritated individual. He, who formally is, and substantially ought to be, the judge, is in reality no more than ministerial, a mere executive instrument of a private man, who is at once judge and party. Every idea of judicial order is subverted  
by

by this procedure. If the insolvency be no crime, why is it punished with arbitrary imprisonment? If it be a crime, why is it delivered into private hands to pardon without discretion, or to punish without mercy and without measure?

I know that credit must be preserved; but equity must be preserved too; and it is impossible that any thing should be necessary to commerce, which is inconsistent with justice. The operation of the old law is so savage and so inconvenient to society, that for a long time past, once in every parliament, and lately twice, the legislature has been obliged to make a general arbitrary jail-delivery, and at once to set open, by its sovereign authority, all the prisons in England.

I never relished acts of grace; nor ever submitted to them but from despair of better. They are a dishonourable invention, by which, not from humanity, not from policy; but merely because we have not room enough to hold these victims of the absurdity of our laws, we turn loose upon the public three or four thousand miserable wretches, corrupted by the habits, debased by the ignominy of a prison. If the creditor had a right to those carcasses as a natural security, I am sure we have no right to deprive him of that security. But if the few pounds of flesh were not necessary to his security, we had not a right to detain the unfortunate debtor, without any benefit at all to the person who confined him—Take it as you will, we commit injustice. Credit has little or no concern in this cruelty, I speak in a commercial assembly.

You know that credit is given, because capital *must* be employed : that men calculate the chances of insolvency ; and that they either withhold the credit or make the debtor pay the risque in the price. The counting-house has no alliance with the jail. Holland understands trade as well as we, and there was not, when Mr. Howard visited Holland, more than one prisoner for debt in the great city of Rotterdam. Although Lord Beauchamp's act has already preserved liberty to thousands ; and though it is not three years since the last act of grace passed, yet by Mr. Howard's last account, there were near three thousand again in jail.

BURKE.

*Speech at Bristol, p. 21-25.*

THE confinement of any debtor in the sloth and darkness of a prison, is a loss to the nation, and no gain to the creditor ; for, of the multitude who are pining in those cells of misery, a very small part is suspected of any fraudulent act by which they retain what belongs to others. The rest are imprisoned by the wantonness of pride, the malignity of revenge, or the acrimony of disappointed expectation.

JOHNSON.

*Idler, vol. i. p. 121.*

THOSE who made the laws of imprisonment for debt, have apparently supposed, that every deficiency of payment is the crime of the debtor. But the truth is, that the creditor always shares the

the act, and often more than shares the guilt, of improper trust.

*Ib. p. 124.*

He whose debtor has perished in prison, though he may acquit himself of deliberate murder, must at least have his mind clouded with discontent, when he considers how much another has suffered from him; when he thinks of the wife bewailing her husband, or the children begging the bread which their father would have earned.

*Ib. p. 217.*



## STATE TRIALS.

SO unreasonable is the ambition of princes, that [his majesty] seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole empire of Blefuscu \* into a province, and governing it by a viceroy. I endeavoured to divert him from this design by many arguments drawn from the topics of policy as well as justice : and I plainly protested, that I would never be an instrument of bringing a free and brave people into slavery.

This open bold declaration of mine was so opposite to the schemes and politics of his imperial majesty, that he could never forgive me ; he mentioned it in a very artful manner at council, where I was told that some of the wisest appeared at least by their silence to be of my opinion ; but others, who were my secret enemies, could not forbear some expressions, which by a side-wind reflected on me. And from this time began an intrigue between his majesty, and a junto of ministers maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two months, and had like to have ended in my utter ruin. Of so little weight are the

the greatest services to princes, when put into the balance with a refusal to gratify their passions.

It may be proper to inform the reader of [this] intrigue.

When I was just preparing to pay my attendance on the emperor of Blefuscu, a considerable person at court (to whom I had been very serviceable at a time when he lay under the highest displeasure of his imperial majesty) came to my house very privately at night in a close chair, and, without sending his name, desired admittance. After the common salutations were over, observing his lordship's countenance full of concern, and enquiring into the reason, he desired I would hear him with patience in a matter that highly concerned my life and honour.

You are to know, said he, that several committees of council have been lately called in the most private manner on your account; and that it is but two days since his majesty came to a full resolution.

You are very sensible that Skyris Bolgolam (*galbet*, or high-admiral) hath been your mortal enemy almost ever since your arrival: his original reasons I know not; but his hatred is increased since your great success against Blefuscu, by which his glory, as admiral, is much obscured. This lord, in conjunction with Flimnap the high treasurer, Lintoc the general, Lalcon the chamberlain, and Balmuff the grand justiciary, have prepared articles of impeachment against you for treason and other capital crimes.

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This preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own merits and innocence, that I was going to interrupt; when he entreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded.

Out of gratitude for the favours you have done me, I procured information of the whole proceedings, and a copy of the articles; wherein I venture my head for your service.

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT AGAINST QUIMBUS  
FLESTRIN THE MAN-MOUNTAIN.

*Art. 1. Whereas by a statute made in the reign of his imperial majesty Calin Deffar Plune, it is enacted, that whosoever shall make water within the precincts of the royal palace, shall be liable to the pains and penalties of high treason: notwithstanding the said Quimbus Flestrin, in open breach of the said law, under colour of extinguishing the fire kindled in the apartment of his majesty's most dear imperial consort, did maliciously, traiterously, and devilishly, by \* \* \* \* \*, put out the said fire in the said apartment, lying and being within the precincts of the said royal palace, against the statute in that case provided, &c. against the duty, &c.*

*Art. 2. That the said Quimbus Flestrin having brought the imperial fleet of Blefuscu into the royal port, and being afterwards commanded by his imperial majesty to seize all the other ships of the said empire of Blefuscu, and reduce that empire to a province to be governed by a viceroy from hence, and to destroy*

*destroy and put to death not only all the Big-endian exiles, but likewise all the people of that empire, who would not immediately forsake the Big-endian heresy: he the said Flestrin, like a false traitor against his most auspicious, serene and imperial majesty, did petition to be excused from the said service upon pretence of unwillingness to force the consciences, or destroy the liberties and lives of an innocent people.*

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There are some other articles, but these are the most important of which I have read you an abstract.

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Upon this incident Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, who always approved himself your true friend, was commanded by the emperor to deliver his opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein justified the good thoughts you have of him. He allowed your crimes to be great, but that still there was room for mercy, the most commendable virtue in a prince, and for which his majesty was so justly celebrated. He said, the friendship between you and him was so well known to the world; that perhaps the most honourable board might think him partial; however, in obedience to the command he had received, he would freely offer his sentiments. That if his majesty, in consideration of your services, and pursuant to his own merciful disposition, would please to spare your life; and only give order to put out both your eyes, he humbly conceived, that by this expedient  
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justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the world would applaud the lenity of the emperor, as well as the fair and generous proceedings of those who have the honour to be his counsellors. That the loss of your eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his majesty; that blindness is an addition to courage, by concealing dangers from us; that the fear you had for your eyes, was the greatest difficulty in bringing over the enemies fleet; and it would be sufficient for you to see by the eyes of the ministers, since the greatest princes do no more.

This proposal was received with the utmost disapprobation by the whole board. Bolgolam the admiral could not preserve his temper; but rising up in fury said, he wondered how the secretary durst presume to give his opinion for preserving the life of a traitor: that the services you had performed were, by all true reasons of state, the great aggravation of your crimes: that you, who was able to extinguish the fire by \*\*\*\*\* in her majesty's apartment (which he mentioned with horror) might at another time raise an inundation by the same means to drown the whole palace; and the same strength, which enabled you to bring over the enemies fleet, might serve upon the first discontent to carry it back: that he had good reasons to think you even a Big-endian in your heart; and as treason begins in the heart, before it appears in overt acts, so he accused you as a traitor

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But his imperial majesty, fully determined against capital punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the council thought the loss of your eyes too easy a censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter. And your friend the secretary, humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the treasurer had objected concerning the great charge his majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his excellency, who had the sole disposal of the emperor's revenue, might easily provide against that evil by gradually lessening your establishment; by which, for want of sufficient food, you would grow weak and faint, and lose your appetite, and consume in a few months;  
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Thus by the great friendship of the secretary the whole affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoined, that the project of starving you by degrees should be kept a secret, but the sentence of putting out your eyes was entered upon the books; none dissenting except Bolgolam the admiral, who, being a creature of the empress, was perpetually instigated by her majesty to insist upon your death, she having borne perpetual malice against you, on account of that infamous and illegal method you took to extinguish the fire in her apartment.

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army

army of rebels. This evidence was sufficient to authorise the tearing out the hearts of several people, and dashing them in their faces. But seriously, can two witnesses be thought sufficient to convict a man whom they have a mind to destroy? At least one would imagine they ought not to be notorious villains; neither ought that which they depose to be improbable.

Let us suppose that two of the most upright magistrates in the kingdom were to accuse a man of having conspired with the mufti, to circumcise the whole council of state, the parliament, the archbishop, and the Sorbonne. In vain these two magistrates might swear, that they had seen letters of the mufti: it would naturally be supposed that they were disordered in their heads. It was equally ridiculous to imagine, that the general of the jesuits should raise an army in England, as that the mufti should circumcise the court of France. But unhappily, Titus Oates was believed; that there might remain no species of atrocious folly which has not entered into the heart of man.

VOLTAIRE

*Commentary on Beccaria, ch. xii.*

If the crime of high treason be indeterminate, this alone is sufficient to make the government degenerate into arbitrary power.

MONTESQUIEU

*Spirit of Laws, b. xii. ch. vii.*

It is also a shocking abuse to give the appellation of high-treason to an action that does not deserve

deserve it. By an imperial law it was determined, that whoever made an attempt to injure the ministers and officers belonging to the sovereign, should be deemed guilty of high treason, as if he had attempted to injure the sovereign himself. This law was owing to two princes, remarkable for their weakness; princes who were led by their ministers, as flocks by shepherds; princes who were slaves in the palace, children in the council, strangers to the army; princes, in fine, who preserved their authority only by giving it away every day. Some of those favourites conspired against their sovereigns. Nay, they did more, they conspired against the empire; they called in barbarous nations; and when the emperors wanted to stop their progress, the state was so enfeebled, as to be under the necessity of infringing the law, and of exposing itself to the crime of high treason, in order to punish those favourites.

*Ib. ch. viii.*

THERE was a law passed in England under Henry VIII. by which whoever predicted the king's death was declared guilty of high treason. This law was extremely vague; the terror of despotic power is so great, that it recoils upon those who exercise it. In this king's last illness, the physicians would not venture to say he was in danger, and they surely acted right.

*Ib. ch. x.*

MARSYAS dreamt that he had cut Dionysius's throat. Dionysius put him to death, pretending that

that he would never have dreamt of such a thing by night, if he had not thought of it by day.

*Ib. cb. xi.*

NOTHING renders the crime of high treason more arbitrary than declaring people guilty of it for indiscreet speeches.

Words do not constitute an overt act; they remain only in idea. When considered by themselves, they have generally no determinate signification; for this depends on the tone in which they are uttered. It often happens, that in repeating the same words, they have not the same meaning; this depends on their connection with other things: and sometimes more is signified by silence than by any expression whatever. Since there can be nothing so equivocal and ambiguous as all this; how is it possible to convert it into a crime of high treason? Where this law is established, there is an end not only of liberty, but even of its very shadow.

*Ib. cb. xii.*

In writings there is something more permanent than in words; but when they are no way preparative to high treason, they cannot amount to that charge.

*Ib. cb. xiii.*

PLOTS,

## PLOTS, INFORMERS, AND SPIES.

IN the kingdom of Tribnia, by the natives called Langden, where I had sojourned some time in my travels, the bulk of the people consists in a manner wholly of discoverers, witnesses, informers, accusers, prosecutors, evidences, swearers, together with several subservient and subaltern instruments, all under the colours, the conduct, and pay, of ministers of state, and their deputies. The plots in that kingdom are usually the workmanship of those persons who desire to raise their own characters of profound politicians; to restore new vigour to a crazy administration; to stifle or divert general discontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; or raise or sink the opinion of public credit, as either shall best answer their private advantage. It is first agreed, and settled among them, what suspected persons shall be accused of a plot: then effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists very dexterous in finding out the mysterious meaning of words, syllables, and letters. For instance, they can discover a close-stool to



signify a privy-council; a flock of geese, a senate; a lame dog, \* an invader; the plague, a standing army; a buzzard, a prime minister; the gout, a high priest; a gibbet, a secretary of state; a chamber-pot, a committee of grandees; a sieve, a court lady; a broom, a revolution; a mouse-trap, an employment; a bottomless pit, a treasury; a sink, a court; a cap and bells, a favourite; a broken reed, a court of justice; an empty tun, a general; a running sore, the administration.

When this method fails, they have others more effectual, which the learned among them call acrostics and anagrams. First, they can decypher all initial letters into political meanings. Thus, *N*, shall signify a plot; *B*, a regiment of horse; *L*, a fleet at sea: or, Secondly, by transposing the letters of the alphabet, in any suspected paper, they can lay open the deepest designs of a discontented party. So, for example, if I should say in a letter to a friend, *Our brother Tom has just got the pills*; a skilful decypherer would discover, that the same letters, which compose that sentence, may be analysed into the following words: *Resist—no plot is brought home—the tour*. And this is the anagrammatic method.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iii. ch. vi.*

THERE is a story in Pausanias of a plot for betraying a city, discovered by the braying of an ass; the cackling of geese saved the capital; and Cataline's

\* See the proceedings against Bishop Atterbury, State

Trials, vol. vi.

Catalina's conspiracy was discovered, by a whom? These are the only three animals, as far as I recollect, famous in history as evidences and informers.

*Thoughts on Various Subjects.*

I could never discover the necessity of suspending any laws upon which the liberty of the most innocent persons depended; neither do I think this practice hath made the state of arbitrary power so agreeable, as that we should desire to see it repeated. Diligent inquiries into remote and problematical guilt, with new power of enforcing them by chains and dungeons, to every person whose face a minister thinks fit to dislike, are not only opposite to that maxim, which declareth it better that ten guilty men should escape, than one innocent suffer; but likewise leave a gate wide open to the whole tribe of informers, the most accursed, and prostitute, and abandoned race, that God ever permitted to plague mankind.

However orthodox my sentiments may be while I am now writing, [those very sentiments] may become criminal enough to bring me into trouble before midsummer. And indeed I have often wished, for some time past, that a political catechism might be published by authority four times a year, in order to instruct us how we are to speak, write, and act, during the current quarter. I have by experience felt the want of such an instructor: for intending to make my court to some people on the prevailing side, by advancing certain old whig-

gish

gish principles, which it seems had been exploded about a month before, I have passed for a disaffected person. I am not ignorant how idle a thing it is for a man in 'obscurity to attempt defending his reputation, while the spirit of faction hath so universally possessed the minds of men, that they are not at leisure to attend to any thing else. They will just give themselves time to libel and accuse me; but cannot spare a minute to hear my defence. So in a plot-discovering age, I have often known an innocent man seized and imprisoned, and forced to lie several months in chains, while the ministers were not at leisure to hear his petition, until they had prosecuted and hanged the number they proposed.

IDEM.

*Letter to Pope. Works, vol. ix. p. 293-9.*

I NUMBER among false witnesses all those who make a trade of being informers in hope of favour and reward; and to this end employ their time, either by listening in public places, to catch up an accidental word, or in corrupting men's servants to discover any unwary expression of their master; or thrusting themselves into company, and then using the most indecent scurrilous language; fastening a thousand falsehoods and scandals upon a whole party, on purpose to provoke such an answer as they may turn to an accusation. And truly this ungodly race is said to be grown so numerous, that men of different parties can hardly converse together with any security. Even the pulpit

pulpit hath not been free from the misrepresentation of these informers.

Idem.

*Sermon on False Witness.*

A MAN who is capable of so infamous a calling as that of a spy, is not very much to be relied upon. He can have no great ties of honour, or checks of conscience, to restrain him in those covert evidences, where the person accused has no opportunity of vindicating himself. He will be more industrious to carry that which is grateful, than that which is true. There will be no occasion for him, if he does not hear and see things worth discovery ; so that he naturally inflames every word and circumstance, aggravates what is faulty, perverts what is good, and misrepresents what is indifferent. Nor is it to be doubted but that such ignominious wretches let their private passions into these their clandestine informations, and often wreak their particular spite or malice against the person whom they are set to watch. It is a pleasant scene enough, which an Italian author describes, between a spy and a cardinal who employed him. The spy begins with a low voice. Such an one whispered to one of his friends, within my hearing, that your eminence was a very great poltroon ! and after having given his patron time to take it down, adds, that another called him a mercenary rascal in a public conversation. The cardinal replies, very well ; and bids him go on. The spy proceeds, and loads him with reports of the same nature, till the cardinal rises in great wrath,

wrath; calls him an impudent scoundrel, and kicks him out of the room.

It is observed of great and heroic minds, that they have not only shewn a particular disregard to those unmerited reproaches which have been cast upon them, but have been altogether free from that impertinent curiosity of inquiring after them, or the poor revenge of resenting them. The histories of Alexander and Cæsar are full of this kind of instances. Vulgar souls are of a quite contrary character. Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, had a dungeon which was a very curious piece of architecture, and of which, as I am informed, there are still to be seen some remains in that island. It was called DIONYSIUS'S EAR, and built with several little windings and labyrinths, in the form of a real ear. The structure of it made it a kind of whispering place, but such a one as gathered the voice of him who spoke into a funnel, which was placed at the very top of it. The tyrant used to lodge all his state criminals, or those whom he supposed to be engaged together in any evil designs upon him, in this dungeon. He had at the same time an apartment over it, where he used to apply himself to the funnel, and by that means overhear every thing that was whispered in the dungeon. I believe one may venture to affirm, that a Cæsar or an Alexander would have rather died by the treason, than have used such disingenuous means for the detection of it.

SPECTATOR.

No. 439.

CORNUTUS [informed against by one of the spies of Tiberius] having put an end to his own life—believing as he did that prosecution was a prelude to destruction—a motion was made in the senate, that whenever the person accused of high treason prevented judgment by a voluntary death, the informers should be entitled to no reward. The fathers inclined to the opinion: but Tiberius, in plain terms, without his usual ambiguity, shewed himself the patron of the whole tribe of informers. “The course of justice,” he said, “would be stopt, by such a decision, and the common-wealth be brought to the brink of ruin. It were better to abrogate all laws at once, than to remove the vigilance that gives them energy.” Thus that pernicious crew, the bane and scourge of society, who, in fact, have never been sufficiently restrained, were let loose, with the wages of iniquity in view, to harass and destroy their fellow creatures.—

In proportion as they rose in guilt, informers became sacred characters. If any were punished, it was only such as were mere novices in guilt, obscure and petty villains, who had no talents for mischief.—

The [spies] held it necessary that the conversation of Sabinus should be heard by more than one. A place for this purpose, secure and solitary, was to be chosen. To listen behind doors, were to hazard a discovery; they might be seen, or overheard, or some trifling accident might give the alarm. The scene of action at length was fixed.

The

They chose the cavity between the roof of the house and the ceiling of the room. In that vile lurking hole, with an execrable design, three Roman senators lay concealed, their ears applied to chinks and crannies, listening to conversation, and by fraud collecting evidence. To complete this plan of iniquity, Latiaris met Sabinus in the street, and under pretence of communicating secret intelligence, decoyed him to the house, and to the very room where the infamous eves-droppers lay in ambush. There Latiaris entered into conversation; he recalled past grievances; he stated recent calamities, and opened a train of evils to come. Sabinus went over the same ground, more animated than before, and more in the detail. When griefs, which have been long pent up, once find a vent, men love to discharge the load that weighs upon the heart. From the materials thus collected, the [spies] drew up an accusation in form, and sent it to the emperor, with a memorial to their own disgrace and infamy, setting forth the whole of their conduct. Rome was never at any period so distracted with anxiety and terror. Men were afraid of knowing each other; society was at a pause; relations, friends, and strangers, stood at gaze; no public meeting, no private confidence; things inanimate had ears, and roofs and walls were deemed informers.

Tiberius dispatched a letter to the senate. Judgment of death was pronounced. Sabinus was seized, and dragged through the streets to immediate

mediate execution. Muffled in his robe, his voice almost stifled, he presented to the gazing multitude a tragic spectacle. He cried out with what power of utterance he could, "Behold the bloody opening of the year. With victims like myself 'Sejanus [favourite of Tiberius] must be glutted!' Wherever he looked, to whatever side he directed his voice, the people shrunk back dismayed; they fled, they disappeared; the public places and the forum were abandoned; the streets became a desert. In their confusion some returned to the same spot, as if willing to behold the horrid scene, alarmed for themselves, and dreading the crime of appearing terrified.

TACITUS.

*Annals, b. iv.*

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Drusus, [grandson of Tiberius] Tiberius ordered a day-book to be read before the fathers, in which the words and actions of this prince had been carefully recorded. In the annals of history is there any thing to match this black, this horrible inquisition? For a length of time spies of state had been appointed to keep a register of words, to interpret looks, and note the groans that issued from the heart.

*Ib. b. vi.*

A MERCENARY informer knows no distinction. Under such a system, the obnoxious people are slaves; not only to the government, but they live at the mercy of every individual; they are at once  
the



the slaves of the whole community, and of every part of it; and the worst and most unmerciful men are those on whose goodness they most depend.

In this situation men not only shrink from the frowns of a stern magistrate; but they are obliged to fly from their very species. The seeds of destruction are sown in civil intercourse, in social habitudes. The blood of wholesome kindred is infected. Their tables and beds are surrounded with snares. All the means given by Providence to make life safe and comfortable, are perverted into instruments of terror and torture. This species of universal subserviency, that makes the very servant who waits behind your chair, the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and abase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal state of mind, which alone can make us what we ought to be, that I vow to God I would sooner bring myself to put a man to immediate death for opinions I disliked, and so to get rid of the man and his opinions at once, than to fret him with a feverish being, tainted with the jail distemper of a contagious servitude, to keep him above ground, an animated mass of putrefaction, corrupted himself, and corrupting all about him.

BURKE.

*Speech at Bristol, p. 34-5.*

I DISLIKE the cry of fear, because it has been the cry of tyrants since the beginning of the world; Tiberius was in perpetual alarm; Henry the eighth was ever surrounded with plots and assassinations;

nations; the proud dominion of the church in its proudest day, when it trod on the neck of kings, and lifted its head against Heaven itself, was never free from salutary danger. I dislike the cry of fear when I find it attempted to be raised by the weak against the strong; but when I find the strong cry out fear against the weak, I always know it is the preamble for some grand injustice; for never was any system of injustice long conducted in the world, without setting up for itself some grim ~~hor~~ of terror, an object expressed by some frightful indefinite word, that can mean at the same time every thing, any thing, or nothing, as best suits the purpose of those who use it.

GRATTAN.

*Speech for Reform in Irish House of Commons.*

THERE is no disposition that clings so close to despotism as incessant terror and alarm. What else gave birth to the armies of spies and the numerous state prisons under the late government of France? The eye of the tyrant is never closed. How numerous are the precautions and jealousies that these terrors dictate? No man can go out or come into the country but he is watched. The press must issue no productions that have not the *imprimatur* of government. All coffee-houses and places of public resort are objects of attention. Twenty people cannot be collected together, unless for the purposes of superstition, but it is immediately suspected that they may be conferring about their rights. No picture can be more disgusting, no state of mankind more depressing, than that in which

which a whole nation is held in obedience by the mere operation of fear, in which all that is most eminent among them, and that should give example to the rest, is prevented, under the severest penalties, from expressing its real sentiments, and, by necessary consequence, of forming any sentiments that are worthy to be expressed.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, b. v. ch. v.*

## OATHS.

WHOEVER considers the number of absurd and ridiculous oaths necessary to be taken at present in most countries, on being admitted into any society or profession whatever, will be less surprised to find prevarication still prevailing, where perjury has led the way.

While good faith reigned upon the earth, a simple promise was sufficient to insure confidence. Oaths owe their origin to perfidy. Man was not required to call upon the God that heard him to witness his veracity, till he deserved no longer to be believed. Magistrates and sovereigns, to what do your regulations tend? You either oblige the man of probity to lift up his hand, and call heaven to witness, which with him is a requisition as injurious as it is useless; or you compel an oath from the mouth of a reprobate. Of what value can the oath of such a man appear to you? If the oath be contrary to his own security, it is absurd. If it be consonant with his interest, it is superfluous. Does it argue a knowledge of the human

heart, to give the debtor his choice between his ruin and a falsehood; or the criminal his option between death and perjury? Will the man whom motives of revenge, interest, or wickedness, have determined to give a false testimony, be deterred by the fear of committing one crime more? Is he not apprised, before he is brought up to the tribunal of justice, that this formality will be required of him? And has he not from the bottom of his heart despised it, before he complied with it? - Is it not a species of impiety to introduce the name of God in our wicked disputes? Is it not a singular mode of making heaven, as it were, an accomplice in the guilt, to suffer that heaven to be called upon, which never has contradicted nor ever will contradict the oath? How intrepid, therefore, must the false witness become, when he has with impunity called down the divine vengeance on his head, without the fear of being convicted? Oaths seem to be so much debased and prostituted by their frequency, that false witnesses are grown as common as robbers.

RAYNAL.

*Hist. of European Settlements, b. ii.*

ENGLAND, in this respect, seems to be sunk to the lowest possible degree of degeneracy. Oaths among us are required on so many occasions, and so carelessly administered, as to have lost almost all their use and efficacy. It has been asserted, that, including oaths of office, oaths at elections, custom-house oaths, &c. &c. there are about a million

million of perjuries committed in this kingdom annually. This is one of the most atrocious of our national iniquities.

PRICE.

*Importance of Amer. Revolution, p. 81.*

CUSTOM-HOUSE oaths now a days go for nothing. Not that the world grows more wicked, but because no body lays any stress upon them. The duty on French wine is the same in Scotland and in England. But as we cannot afford to pay this high duty, the permission, underhand, to pay Spanish duty for French wine, is found more beneficial to the revenue than the rigour of the law. The oath, however, must be taken, that the wine we import is Spanish, to entitle us to the ease of the Spanish duty. Such oaths at first were highly criminal, because directly a fraud against the public, but now that the oath is only exacted for form's sake, without any faith intended to be given or received, it becomes very little different from saying in the way of civility, I am, sir, your friend, or obedient servant!!

KAIMES.

*Loose Hints on Education, App. p. 362.*

CAN there be a practice more pregnant with false morality than that of administering oaths in a court of justice? The language it expressly holds is, "You are not to be believed upon your mere word;" and there are few men resolute enough to preserve themselves from contamination, when they are accustomed, upon the most solemn occasions

sions to be treated with contempt. To the unthinking it becomes a plenary indulgence to the occasional tampering with veracity in affairs of daily occurrence, that they are not upon their oath; and we may affirm without risk of error, that there is no cause of insincerity, prevarication, and falsehood more powerful, than this practice. It treats veracity in the scenes of ordinary life as unworthy to be regarded. It takes for granted that no man, at least no man of plebeian rank, is to be credited upon his bare affirmation; and what it takes for granted it has an irresistible tendency to produce.

Wherever men of uncommon energy and dignity of mind have existed, they have felt the degradation of binding their assertions with an oath. The English constitution recognises in a partial and imperfect manner the force of this principle, and therefore provides, that, while the common herd of mankind shall be obliged to swear to the truth, nothing more shall be required from the order of the nobles than a declaration upon honour. Will reason justify this distinction?

Men will never act with that liberal justice and conscious integrity which is their highest ornament, till they come to understand what men are. He that contaminates his lips with an oath, must have been thoroughly fortified with previous moral instruction, if he be able afterwards to understand

derstand the beauty of an easy and simple integrity. If our political institutors had been but half so judicious in perceiving the manner in which excellence and worth were to be generated, as they have been ingenious and indefatigable in the means of depraving mankind, the world, instead of a slaughter-house, would have been a paradise.

What are the words which we are taught in this instance to address to the creator of the universe? "So help me, God, and the contents of his holy word." It is the language of imprecation. I pray him to pour down his everlasting wrath and curse upon me if I utter a lie.—It were to be wished that the name of that man were recorded, who first invented this mode of binding men to veracity. He had surely himself but very light and contemptuous notions of the Supreme Being, who could thus tempt men to insult him by braving his justice. If it be our duty to invoke his blessing, yet there must surely be something insupportably profane in wantonly and unnecessarily putting all that he is able to inflict upon us upon conditions.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, b. vi. ch. v.*

YE have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths:

But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by Heaven, for it is God's throne:



Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool:  
neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great  
king:

Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because  
thou canst not make one hair white or black:

But let your communication be yea, yea; nay,  
nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of  
evil.

NEW TESTAMENT.

*St. Matthew, chap. v.*

WORDS are very rascals since bonds disgraced  
them.

SHAKESPEARE.

*Twelfth Night, act iii.*

It is great sin to swear unto a sin,  
But greater sin to keep a sinful oath;  
Who can be bound by any solemn vow,  
To do a murderous deed, to rob a man,  
To force a spotless virgin's chastity,  
To reave the orphan of his patrimony,  
To wring the widow from her custom'd right,  
And have no other reason for his wrong,  
But that he was bound by a solemn oath?

IDEM.

*Second Part, Henry VI. act v.*

No not an oath: If not the face of men,  
The sufferance of our souls, the time's abuse—  
If these be motives weak, break off betimes,  
And every man hence to his idle bed;  
So let high-sighted tyranny range on,  
Till each man drop by lottery. But if these,

As

As I am sure they do, bear fire enough,  
 To kindle cowards, and to steel with valour  
 The melting spirits of women; then, countrymen,  
 What need we any spur, but our own cause,  
 To prick us to redress? What other bond  
 Than secret Romans, that have spoke the word,  
 And will not palter? And what other oath,  
 Than honesty to honesty engag'd,  
 That this shall be, or we will fall for it?  
 Swear priests, and cowards, and men cautelous,  
 Old feeble carrions, and such suffering souls  
 That welcome wrongs; unto bad causes swear  
 Such creatures as men doubt: but do not stain  
 The even virtue of our enterprize,  
 Nor the insuppressive metal of our spirits,  
 To think, that, or our cause, or our performance,  
 Did need an oath; when every drop of blood,  
 That every Roman bears, and nobly bears,  
 Is guilty of a several bastardy,  
 If he do break the smallest particle  
 Of any promise that hath past from him.

IDEM.

*Julius Cæsar, act. ii.*

If we want oaths to join us,  
 Swift let us part, from pole to pole asunder,  
 A cause like ours is its own sacrament;  
 Truth, justice, reason, love, and liberty,  
 The eternal links that clasp the world are in it,  
 And he who breaks their sanction, breaks all law,  
 And infinite connection.

BROOKE.

*Gustavus Vasa, act.*

## ROYALTY.

I AM not one of those oriental slaves who deem it unlawful presumption to look their kings in the face; neither am I swayed by my Lord Bacon's authority to think this custom good and reasonable in its *meaning*, though it savours of barbarism in its *institution*. *Ritu quidem barbarus, sed significatione bonus*. Much otherwise. It seems to me that no secrets are so important to be known, no hearts deserve to be pried into with more curiosity and attention than those of princes.

BOLINGBROKE.

*Idea of a Patriot King, Introd.*

I FIND myself so occupied by those grand affairs which the philosophers call absurdities, that I have not yet leisure to think when I please, which is the only real good of life. I imagine that the deity created asses, doric pillars, and kings, to bear the burthens of this world; in which so many other beings are created to enjoy the good he has bestowed. Here am I arguing with twenty Machiavels, all more or less dangerous. One talks to me of limits, another of claims, a third of indemnification, a fourth of auxiliaries, marriage contracts,

contracts, debts to be paid, intrigues to begin, &c. &c.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

*Correspondence with Voltaire, let. clxx.*

IF servitude be a state of wretchedness, there can be no happiness in royalty : for royalty is nothing more than servitude in disguise.

He that desires royalty does not know the duties which royalty requires ; and by him that does not know them they can never be fulfilled. Such a man desires regal authority only to gratify himself ; but regal authority should be intrusted with him only who would not accept it but for the love of others.

FENELON.

*Telemaque, liv. vi.*

A PRINCE is an individual whose conduct the whole world is perpetually employed to watch, and disposed to condemn. He is judged with the utmost rigour by those who can only guess at his situation ; who have not the least sense of the difficulties that attend it ; and who expect that, to answer their ideas of perfection, he should be no longer a man. A king, however, can be no more : his goodness and his wisdom are bounded by his nature ; he has humours, passions, and habits, which it is impossible he should always surmount ; he is continually beset by self-interest and cunning ; he never finds the assistance that he seeks ; he is perpetually led into mistakes, sometimes by his own passions, and sometimes by those of his ministers, and can scarce repair one fault before he falls

falls into another, and the longest and best reign is too short, and too defective to correct at the end, what has undesignedly been done amiss in the beginning. Such evils are inseparable from royalty, and human weakness must sink under such a load. Kings should be pitied and excused.—Should not they be pitied who are called to the government of an innumerable multitude, whose wants are infinite, and who cannot but keep every faculty of those who would govern them well upon the stretch? or to speak freely, are not men to be pitied, for their necessary subjection to a mortal like themselves? A god only can fulfil the duties of dominion. The prince, however, is not less to be pitied than the people.

*Ib. lib. xii.*

Of all men that king is the most unhappy who believes he shall become happy by rendering others miserable. His wretchedness is doubled by his ignorance, for as he does not know whence it proceeds, he can apply no remedy: he is indeed afraid to know, and he suffers a crowd of sycophants to surround him, that keep truth at a distance. He is a slave to his own passions, and an utter stranger to his duty. He has never tasted the pleasure of doing good, nor been warmed to sensibility by the charms of virtue. He is wretched, but the wretchedness that he suffers he deserves, and his misery, however great, is perpetually increasing.

*Ib. lib. v.*

#### SOLON AND PISISTRATUS.

*Solon.* What pleasure could you enjoy in such a power? What can be the charms of tyranny?

*Pisis-*

*Pisistratus.* To be able to do every thing, to be feared by every body, and at the same time to stand in awe of no one.

*Solon.* Senseless man ! you had reason to stand in awe of every one ; and you experienced it when you fell from the height of your fortune, and found so much difficulty in rising again : you experienced it a second time in the person of your children. Who had most reason to fear, the Athenians or you ? The Athenians, who, bearing the yoke of slavery, held you in abhorrence ; or you, who ought to have apprehended every moment the being betrayed, dethroned, and punished for your usurpation ? You certainly then had more reason to fear than this captive people, to whom you had made yourself so formidable.

*Pisistratus.* I confess it, and own that I never found in tyranny any solid pleasure ; yet I had not the courage to lay it down : had I lost my authority, I conceived that I should infallibly have pined to death.

*Solon.* Acknowledge, then, that tyranny is as destructive to the tyrant as to the people.

IDEM.

*Dialogues des Morts.*

DAMOCLES, one of the courtiers of Dionysius, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession, always repeating that never man was happier than Dionysius.

sius. "Since you are of that opinion," said the tyrant to him one day, "will you taste and make "proof of my felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of inestimable value. The sideboards were loaded with vessels of gold and silver. The most beautiful slaves in the most splendid habits stood around, watching the least signal to serve him. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been spared. The table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a sword which hung from the roof only by a single horse hair. He was immediately seized with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant; he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he desired permission to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant.

ROLIN.

*Antient History, b. xi. ch. i. sect. iv.*

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear: and yet that commonly is the case of kings, who being at the highest want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of peril, which make their minds less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the scripture speaketh of, *that the king's heart*

*heart is inscrutable.* For multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, make any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp; Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow; Commodus for playing at fence; Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like.

LORD BACON.

*Works, vol. iii. p. 327.*

HAD the meanest and most uncivilised peasant leave *incognito* to observe the greatest king for a fortnight: though he might pick out several things he would like for himself, yet he would find a great many more, which, if the monarch and he were to change conditions, he would wish for his part to have immediately altered or redressed, and which with amazement he sees the king submit to. And again, if the sovereign was to examine the peasant in the same manner, his labour would be insufferable, his diet, pastimes, and recreations, would be all abominable; but then what charms would he find in the other's peace of mind, the calmness and tranquility of his soul? No necessity of dissimulation with any of his family, or feigned affection to his mortal enemies, no wife in a foreign interest; no danger to apprehend



hend from his children; no plots to unravel, no poison to fear; no popular statesman at home, or cunning courts abroad to manage; no seeming patriots to bribe; no unsatiable favourite to gratify; no selfish ministry to obey; no divided nation to please, or fickle mob to humour, that would direct and interfere with his pleasures.

MANDEVILLE.

*Essay on Charity Schools.*

THE possession of a throne could never yet afford a lasting satisfaction to an ambitious mind.— This melancholy truth was felt and acknowledged by Severus. Fortune and merit had, from an humble station, elevated him to the first place among mankind. “He had been all things,” as he said himself, “and all was of little value.”

GIBSON.

*Roman Empire, vol. i. p. 130.*

THE lives and labours of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed, and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendid picture; and whatever may be the cool dictates of reason, there are few among us who would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts and cares of royalty. It may therefore be of some use to borrow the experience of Abdal Rahman, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph. “I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded

Ed

"ed by my enemies, and respected by my allies.  
 "Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have  
 "waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing  
 "appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In  
 "this situation I have diligently numbered the days  
 "of pure and genuine happiness, which have  
 "fallen to my lot, they amount to *fourteen*.

*Ib. vol. v. p. 340.*

MARIA THERESA, queen of Hungary, said,  
 when she was dying, "Since I have been queen, I  
 "have experienced but one happy day."

*Letters of Madame, widow of Monsieur, brother  
 of Lewis XIV.*

How much do they mistake, how little know  
 Of kings, of kingdoms, and the pains which flow  
 From royalty, who fancy that a crown,  
 Because it glistens, must be lin'd with down.  
 With outside show, and vain appearance caught,  
 They look no farther, and by folly taught,  
 Prize high the toys of thrones, but never find  
 One of the many cares which lurk behind.  
 The gem they worship, which a crown adorns,  
 Nor once suspect that crown is lin'd with thorns.  
 O might reflection folly's place supply,  
 Would we one moment use her piercing eye,  
 Then should we learn what woe from grandeur  
 springs,

And learn to pity, not to envy kings!

The villager, born humbly, and bred hard,  
 Content his wealth, and poverty his guard,  
 In action simply just, in conscience clear,

N

By

By guilt untainted, undisturb'd by fear,  
 His means but scanty, and his wants but few,  
 Labour his business and his pleasure too,  
 Enjoys more comforts in a single hour,  
 Than ages give the wretch condemn'd to power.  
 Call'd up by health, he rises with the day,  
 And goes to work, as if he went to play,  
 Whistling off toils, one half of which might make  
 The stoutest ATLAS of a palace quake;  
 'Gainst heat and cold, which make us cowards faint,  
 Harden'd by constant use, without complaint  
 He bears, what we should think it death to bear;  
 Short are his meals, and homely is his fare;  
 His thirst he slakes at some poor neighb'ring brook,  
 Nor asks for sauce where appetite stands cook.  
 When the dews fall, and when the sun retires  
 Behind the mountains, when the village fires,  
 Which, waken'd all at once, speak supper nigh,  
 At distance catch, and fix his longing eye,  
 Homeward he hies, and with his manly brood  
 Of raw-bon'd cubs, enjoys that clean, coarse food,  
 Which, season'd with good humour, his fond bride  
 'Gainst his return is happy to provide.  
 Then free from care, and free from thought, he  
 creeps

Into his straw, and till the morning sleeps.

Not so the king—with anxious cares oppress'd,  
 His bosom labours, and admits not rest.

A glorious wretch, he sweats beneath the weight  
 Of majesty, and gives up ease for state.

E'en when his smiles, which, by the fools of pride,  
 Are treasur'd and preserv'd, from side to side,

Fly round the court, e'en when compell'd by form,  
 He seems most calm, his soul is in a storm !  
 CARE, like a spectre, seen by him alone,  
 With all her nest of vipers, round his throne  
 By day crawls full in view ; when night bids sleep,  
 Sweet nurse of nature, o'er the senses creep,  
 When misery herself no more complains,  
 And slaves, if possible, forget their chains,  
 Tho' his sense weakens, tho' his eyes grow dim,  
 That rest which comes to all, comes not to him.  
 E'en at that hour, CARE, tyrant CARE, forbids  
 The dew of sleep to fall upon his lids ;  
 From night to night she watches at his bed ;  
 Now, as one mop'd, sits brooding o'er his head,  
 Anon she starts, and, borne on raven's wings,  
 Croaks forth aloud—*Sleep was not made for kings !*

CHURCHIL.

*Gotham, vol. ii. p. 162.*

WHAT infinite heart's-ease must kings neglect,  
 That private men enjoy ;  
 And what have kings, that privates have not too,  
 Save ceremony, save general ceremony ?  
 And what art thou, thou idol ceremony ?  
 What kind of God art thou, that suffer'st more  
 What are thy rents, thy comings-in ?  
 Of mortal grief than do thy worshippers ?  
 What is thy soul of adoration ?  
 O ceremony ! show me but thy worth.  
 Art thou ought else but place, degree. and form,  
 Creating awe and fear in other men,  
 Wherein thou art less happy, being fear'd,  
 Than they in fearing ?

What drink'st thou oft, instead of homage sweet,  
But poison'd flatt'ry? O, be sick, great greatness!

And bid thy ceremony give thee cure!  
Thinks't thou the fiery fever will go out  
With titles blown from adulation?

Will it give place to flexure and low bending?  
Can'st thou, when thou command'st the beggar's  
knee,

Command the health of it? No, thou proud  
dream,

That play'st so subtly with a king's repose;  
'Tis not the balm, the sceptre and the ball,  
The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,  
The enter-tissued robe of gold and pearl,  
The farsed title running 'fore the king,  
The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp  
That beats upon the high shore of this world—

No, not all these, thrice gorgeous ceremony,  
Not all these, laid in bed majestical,  
Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave,  
Who, with a body fill'd, and vacant mind,  
Gets him to rest, cramm'd with distressful bread;  
Never sees horrid night, the child of hell;

But, like a lacquey, from the rise to set,  
Sweats in the eye of Phoebus, and all night  
Sleeps in Elysium; next day, after dawn,  
Doth rise, and help Hyperion to his horse;  
And follows so the ever-running year,  
With profitable labour to his grave:  
And, but for ceremony, such a wretch,

Winding

Winding up days with toil, and night with sleep,  
Hath the fore-hand and vantage of a king.

SHAKESPEARE.

*Henry V. act. iv.*

How many thousands of my poorest subjects  
Are at this hour asleep! O gentle sleep,  
Nature's soft nurse, how have I frightened thee,  
That thou no more wilt weigh my eye-lids down,  
And steep my senses in forgetfulness!  
Why rather, Sleep, lays't thou in smoky cribs,  
Upon uneasy pallets stretching thee,  
And hush'd with buzzing night-flies to thy  
slumber;

Than in the perfum'd chambers of the great,  
Under the canopies of costly state,  
And lull'd with sounds of sweetest melody?

SHAKESPEARE.

*Second Part Henry IV. act. iii.*

O POLISH'D perturbation! golden care!  
That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide,  
To many a watchful night!—sleep with it now!—  
Yet not so sound, and half so deeply sweet,  
As he whose brow, with homely biggen bound,  
Snores out the watch of night. O majesty!  
When thou dost pinch thy bearer, thou dost sit  
Like a rich armour, worn in heat of day,  
That scalds with safety.

*Ib. act. iv.*

A MONARCH'S crown,  
Golden in show, is but a crown of thorns,  
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,  
To him that wears the regal diadem.

MILTON.

*Paradise Lost.*

IN yonder camp  
They think me happy and they call me great :  
There is not such a wretch in the wide world.

LOGAN,  
*Runnamede, a Tragedy.*

[KING, CASTRUCIO, VILLIO.]

King. OH, my cruel stars,  
That mark'd me out a king, raising me on  
This pinnacle of greatness only to be  
The nearer blasting !

\* \* \* \* \*

To be made  
The common butt for every slave to shoot at !  
No peace, no rest I take, but their alarms  
Beat at my heart ! Why do I live, or seek then  
To add a day more to these glorious troubles ?  
Or to what end, when all I can arrive at  
Is but the summing up of fears and sorrows ?

\* \* \* \* \*

I faint beneath the burthen of my cares,  
And yield myself most wretched.

Villio (*aside to Castruccio*) Look but on this :  
Has not a man that has but means to keep  
A hawk, a greyhound, and a hunting nag,  
More pleasure than this king ?

Castruccio. A dull fool still !  
Make me a king, and let me scratch with care,  
And see who'll have the better ; give me rule,  
Command, obedience, pleasure of a king,  
And

And let the devil roar ; the greatest corrosive  
 A king can have, is of more precious tickling,  
 And handled to the height, more dear delight,  
 Than other men's whole lives, let 'em be safe too.

*Villio.* Think of the mutinous people !

*Castruccio.* Hang the people !

Give me the pleasure, let me do all, awe all,  
 Enjoy their wives and states at my discretion,  
 And peg 'em when I please, let the slaves mumble.

*Villio.* But say they should be vex'd, and rise  
 against thee.

*Castruccio.* Let 'em rise, let 'em rise ; give me  
 the bridle here,

And see if they can crack my girts : Ah, Villio,  
 Under the sun there's nothing so voluptuous  
 As riding this monster 'till he founder !

\* \* \* \* \*

Thou enemy to majesty,  
 What think'st thou of a king ?

*Villio.* As of a man

That hath power to do ill.

*Castruccio.* Of a thing rather  
 That does divide an empire with the Gods.  
 Observe but with how little breath he shakes  
 A populous city, which would stand unmov'd  
 Against a whirlwind.

*Villio.* Then you make him more  
 Than him that rules the winds.

*Castruccio.* For me, I do profess it,  
 Were I offer'd to be any thing on earth  
 I would be mighty Ferrand,



*King.* Ha! who names me?  
 Deliver thy thoughts, slave, thy thoughts, and  
 truly,  
 Or be no more!

*Castruccio.* They rather will deserve  
 Your favour than your fury. I admire  
 (As who does not, that is a loyal subject?)  
 Your wisdom, power, your perfect happiness,  
 The most blessed of mankind.

*King.* Didst thou but feel  
 The weighty sorrows that sit on a crown,  
 Though thou shouldst find one in the streets,  
*Castruccio,*

Thou wouldst not think it worth the taking up:  
 But since thou art enamour'd of my fortune,  
 Thou shalt ere long taste of it.

*Castruccio.* But one day,  
 And then let me expire!\*

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

*Double Marriage, act. iii.*

\* The experiment is made, and before the day expires  
*Castruccio* repents, and exclaims: "I am a rascal, spare  
 me but this time, if ever I see king more, or once be-  
 lieve in king"—"If ever you hear me name a king"—  
 "or though I live under one, obey him"—&c.

COURTS

## COURTS.

INSTEAD of wondering that so many kings, unfit and unworthy to be trusted with the government of mankind, appear in the world, I have been tempted to wonder that there are any tolerable, when I have considered the flattery that environs them most commonly from the cradle, and the tendency of all those false notions that are instilled into them by precept and by example, by the habits of courts, and by the interested selfish views of courtiers. They are bred to esteem themselves of a distinct and superior species among men, as men are among animals.

Louis the Fourteenth was a strong instance of the effect of this education, which trains up kings to be tyrants, without knowing that they are so. That oppression under which he kept his people, during the whole course of a long reign, might proceed, in some degree, from the natural haughtiness of his temper ; but it proceeded, in a greater degree, from the principles and habits of his education. By this he had been brought to look on his kingdom as a patrimony that descended to him from his ancestors, and that was to be considered in

in no other light : so that when a very considerable man had discoursed to him at large of the miserable condition to which his people was reduced, and had frequently used this word, *l'etat*, [the state ;] though the king approved the substance of all he had said, yet he was shocked at the frequent repetition of this word, and complained of it as of a kind of indecency to himself.

This capital error, in which almost every prince is confirmed by his education, has so great extent and so general influence, that a right to do every thing iniquitous in government may be derived from it. But, as if this was not enough, the characters of princes are spoiled many more ways by their education.

BOLINGBROKE.

*Idea of a Patriot King.*

I AM not at all surprised that in monarchies, especially in our own, there should be so few princes worthy of esteem. Incircled by corrupters, knaves, and hypocrites, they accustom themselves to look upon their fellow creatures with disdain, and to set no value on any but the sycophants, who caress their vices, and live in perpetual inactivity and idleness. Such is generally the condition of a monarch. Great men are always scarce, and great kings still more so.

MONTESQUIEU.

*Three Letters to the Chevalier de Bruant. Let. i.*

LOUIS XIV. at once the greatest and meanest of mankind, would have excelled all the monarchs in the universe, if he had not been corrupted in his youth by base and ambitious flatterers. A  
slave

slave during his whole life to pride and vain glory, he never in reality loved his subjects even for a moment; yet expected at the same time, like a true despotic prince, that they should sacrifice themselves to his will and pleasure. Intoxicated with power and grandeur, he imagined the whole world was created solely to promote his happiness. He was feared, obeyed, idolized, hated, mortified, and abandoned. He lived like a Sultan and died like a woman.

It is therefore impossible there should ever be a great man among our kings, who are made brutes and fools of all their lives, by a set of infamous wretches, who surround and beset them from the cradle to the grave.

*Ib. Let. iii.*

THE king of Prussia being at supper with the English ambassador, asked him what he thought of monarchs? He replied, in general I think them a worthless race; they are ignorant and debauched by flattery. The only thing in which they succeed, is riding a horse; and at the same time, of all those that approach them, the horse is the only one that does not flatter them; for he breaks their necks if they do not govern him well.

HELVETIUS.

*De l'Homme, &c. vol. i. sect. iv. ch. xvi. Note (56.)*

I CONGRATULATE your nation on the good choice Louis XVI. has made of his ministers. Your monarch has the best intentions; he wishes to do good; the creatures therefore most to be feared are those pests of the court, who will endeavour

deavour to corrupt, and by degrees to vitiate his mind. He is young; he is unacquainted with the refined stratagems which courtiers will employ to wind him as they wish, and thus to gratify their interest, their hatred, and their ambition.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

*Correspondence with Voltaire, let. 436.*

WE have been informed here of the dismissal of some of the French ministers. At this I am not astonished. I figure Louis XVI. to myself as a young sheep surrounded by old wolves; he will be happy should he escape their jaws.

*Ib. let. 455.*

PRINCES in their infancy, childhood, and youth, are said to discover prodigious parts and wit, to speak things that surprise and astonish: strange, so many hopeful princes, and so many shameful kings! If they happen to die young, they would have been prodigies of wisdom and virtue; if they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of another sort.

SWIFT.

*Thoughts on Various Subjects, Works, vol. v. p. 365.*

How dangerous a situation is royalty, in which the wisest are often the tools of deceit! A throne is surrounded by the train of subtlety and self-interest: Integrity retires, because she will not be introduced by importunity or flattery: Virtue, conscious of her own dignity, waits at a distance till she is sought, and princes seldom know where she may be found; but Vice and her attendants are impudent and fraudulent, insinuating and officious,

ciousi, skilful in dissimulation, and ready to renounce all principles, and to violate every tie when it becomes necessary to the gratification of the appetites of a prince. How wretched is the man who is thus perpetually exposed to the attempts of guilt, by which he must inevitably perish, if he do not renounce the music of adulation, and learn not to be offended by the plainness of truth !

FENELON.

*Telemaque, liv. ii.*

THE children of royalty, whose passions have been flattered and whose wishes prevented in their earliest youth, expect that every thing should be managed so as to coincide with their desires, and that the laws of nature should be subservient to their will ; yet have they not the resolution to look in the face of misfortune. They avoid it, not in tenderness to others, nor from a principle of benevolence that fears to give pain, but from a regard to their own convenience and gratification. They cannot bear to be surrounded with mournful and discontented countenances, and are touched with the miseries of men, only as objects disagreeable to their eye. They will not hear of misfortune, because it is a disgusting subject ; and lest their fancy should be offended, they must be told that all is prosperity and happiness : they are surrounded with delights, and will neither see nor hear any thing that may interrupt their joy. If misconduct is to be reprov'd or error detected, importunity repressed, false claims opposed, they will always depute another for the purpose, rather than declare their own will. They will tamely suffer

suffer the most unreasonable favours to be extorted, and the most important affairs to miscarry, rather than determine for themselves against the opinion of those who are continually about them. This weakness is easily discovered, and every one improves it to his advantage: every request becomes in effect a demand; it is urged with troublesome importunity, and is granted that importunity may be troublesome no more. The first attempt upon a prince is by flattery; by this designing parasites recommend themselves to favour; but they are no sooner trusted to serve than they aspire to govern. They rule their lord by the very power they derive from him: their bridle is in his mouth, and their yoke upon his shoulders. He groans under it, and sometimes makes an effort to throw it off. This effort is soon remitted, and he bears the yoke to his grave. He dreads the appearance of being governed, yet tamely suffers the reality. To be governed is indeed necessary to such princes, for they resemble the feeble branches of a vine, which, not being able to support themselves, always creep round the trunk of some neighbouring tree.

*Ib. liv. xxiii.*

PRINCES that have been accustomed to consider their will only as law, and to give the reins to their passions, may do any thing; but their power of doing any thing is necessarily subverted by its own excess. Their government is capriciously administered without maxim or principle. Their subjects degenerate into slaves, and of these slaves the number is perpetually diminishing. Who shall  
dars

dare affront them with truth ! who shall stem the torrent of destruction ! it swells over all bounds. The wise fly before it, and sigh in secret over the ruin of their country. Some sudden and violent revolution only can reduce this enormous power within proper bounds ; and by that which alone can restrain it, it is frequently destroyed. Nothing is so certain a presage of irremediable destruction as authority pushed to excess ; it is like a bow that is overbent, which, if not relaxed, will suddenly fly to pieces. And who shall venture to relax it ?

*Ib. liv. xxii.*

It is the intent of the law, that the wisdom and equity of one man shall be the happiness of many, and not that the wretchedness and slavery of many should gratify the pride and luxury of one. The king ought to possess nothing more than the subject, but in proportion as more is necessary to alleviate the fatigue of his station, and impress upon the minds of the people a reverence of that authority by which the laws are executed. In every other respect he should indulge himself less, as well in ease as in pleasure, and should be less disposed to the pomp and the pride of life than any other man : he ought not to be distinguished from the rest of mankind by the greatness of his wealth, or the variety of his enjoyments, but by superior wisdom, more heroic virtue, and more splendid glory. It is not for himself that the gods have intrusted him with royalty, he is exalted above individuals, only that he may be the servant  
of



of the public ; to the public he owes all his time, the public should engage all his attention, and his love should have no object but the public ; for he deserves dignity, only in proportion as he gives up private enjoyment for the public good.

*Ib. liv. xii.*

THE least fault a king commits produces infinite mischief ; for it diffuses misery through a whole people, and sometimes for many generations.

*Ib. liv. xix.*

KINGS are generally mistrustful and indolent : mistrustful, by perpetually experiencing the artifices of the designing and corrupt ; and indolent, by the pleasures that solicit them, and a habit of leaving all business to others, without taking the trouble so much as to think for themselves.

*Ib. liv. xiii.*

To princes who have been spoiled by flattery, every thing that is sincere and honest appears to be ungracious and austere. Such princes are even weak enough to suspect a want of zeal for their service and respect for their authority, where they do not find a servility that is ready to flatter them in the abuse of their power. They are offended at all freedom of speech, all generosity of sentiment, which they consider as pride, censoriousness, and sedition ; and they contract a false delicacy, which every thing short of flattery disappoints and disgusts.

*Ib. liv. xiv.*

[Such

Such princes are a terror to mankind and mankind a terror to them. They retire from the public eye and immure themselves in the palace. They love darkness and disguise their characters, which however are perfectly known; the malignant curiosity of their subjects penetrates every veil and investigates every secret; but he that is thus known by all knows nobody. The self-interested wretches that surround him rejoice to perceive that he is inaccessible; and a prince that is inaccessible to men is inaccessible to truth. Those who avail themselves of his blindness are busy to calumniate or to banish all that would open his eyes. He lives in a kind of savage and unsociable magnificence, always the dupe of that imposition which he at once dreads and deserves. He that converses only with a small number of men, almost necessarily adopts their passions and their prejudices: and from passions and prejudices the best are not free. He must also receive his knowledge by report, and therefore lie at the mercy of tale-bearers, a despicable and detestable race, who are nourished by the poison that destroys others; who make what is little great, and what is blameless criminal, who, rather than not impute evil, invent it; and who to answer their own purposes, play upon the causeless suspicion and unworthy curiosity of a weak and jealous prince.

*Ib. liv. xxiv.*

KINGS wish to be absolute, and they are sometimes told that their best way to become so, is to make themselves beloved by the people. This

maxim is doubtless a very admirable one, and in some respects true. But unhappily it is laughed at in courts.

ROUSSEAU.

*Du Contrat Social, liv. iii. ch. vi.*

PITY, benevolence, friendship, are things almost unknown in high stations. *Vera, amicitia, rarissime, inveniuntur in iis qui in honoribus reque publica versantur*, says Cicero. And indeed courts are the schools where cruelty, pride, dissimulation, and treachery are studied and taught in the most vicious perfection.

BURKE.

*Vindication of Natural Society, p. 95.*

LOUIS XIV. one day said to a man who had rendered considerable services to Charles II. of Spain, and who had lived familiarly with him: The king of Spain then loved you much? Ah! sire, replied the poor courtier, who is it that you kings love?

VOLTAIRE.

*King of Prussia's Correspondence, let. xxiii.*

It is better and more secure for a prince to be feared than to be loved.

A PRINCE should desire to be esteemed rather merciful than cruel; but with great caution, that his mercy be not abused.

MACHIAVEL.

*Prince, ch. xviii.*

How honourable it is for a prince to keep his word, and act rather with integrity than collusion, I presume every body understands, Nevertheless those

those princes who have not been over scrupulous in this point, have done great things, and proved too hard for those who have been superstitiously exact. To explain this, you must understand, that there are two ways of contending, by law and by force. The first is proper to men, the second to beasts : but as the one is frequently insufficient, recourse must be had to the other. It belongs therefore to a prince to understand both, when to make use of the rational, when of the brutal way. And this is recommended by ancient writers, when they tell us that Achilles and other princes were committed to the education of Chiron the centaur, who was to keep them under his discipline, chusing them a master half man and half beast. Seeing then it is of such importance to a prince to take upon him the nature and disposition of a beast, of the whole flock he ought to imitate the lion and the fox ; the fox to find out snares, and the lion to drive away the wolves. They who keep wholly to the lion have not a true idea of themselves. A prince therefore, that is wise and prudent, cannot and ought not to keep his word, when the doing so is to his prejudice. Were all men virtuous, this doctrine need not be taught ; but since they are wicked and not likely to be punctual with you, you are not obliged to any such strictness with them. Nor was there ever a prince at a loss for lawful pretence to justify his breach of promise. I might instance in many modern examples, and shew how confederations and treaties of peace have

been broken by the infidelities of princes, and how he who best personated the fox had the better success. It is however of great consequence to disguise your inclination and play the hypocrite : and so simple are men in their temper, and so submissive to their present necessities, that he who is neat and dexterous in his collusions shall never want people to practise them upon. I cannot forbear an example : Alexander VI. never practised, or thought of any thing, but cheating, and never wanted matter to work upon ; and though no man ever promised with more solemn asseveration, or confirmed his promises with more oaths and imprecations, or observed them with less scrupulousness, yet well knowing the world he never miscarried.

A prince therefore is not obliged to have in reality the good qualities we have mentioned ; but it is necessary to have them in appearance. Nay, I will venture to affirm, that having them actually and employing them upon all occasions, they are extremely prejudicial ; whereas having them only in appearance they turn to good account. It is honourable to seem mild, and merciful, and courteous, and religious, and sincere, and indeed to be so, provided your mind be so rectified and prepared, that upon occasion you can act quite contrary. A prince, especially if come but lately to the throne, cannot observe with strictness all that is esteemed virtuous in men ; he must sometimes, for the preservation of his state, practise things in-  
human

human, uncharitable, and irreligious ; it is therefore convenient that his mind be at his command, and flexible to all the puffs and variations of his fortune : not forbearing to be good, when he has it in his choice, but knowing how to be evil whenever there shall be necessity.

*Ib. cb. xviii.*

LET us compare what the historians of all ages have said concerning the courts of monarchs ; let us recollect the conversation and sentiments of people of all countries, in respect to the wretched character of courtiers, and we shall find, that these are not mere airy speculations, but things confirmed by a sad and melancholy experience.

Ambition joined to idleness, and business to pride ; a desire of obtaining riches without labour, and an aversion to truth ; flattery, treachery, perfidy, violation of engagements, contempt of civil duties, fear of the prince's virtues, hope from his weakness, but above all a perpetual ridicule cast upon virtue, are, I think, the characteristics by which most courtiers in all ages and countries have been constantly distinguished.

MONTESQUIEU.

*Spirit of Laws, b. xii. cb. xxiii.*

FROM the lips of your courtiers you have heard, and hereafter you will much oftener hear, the grossest flattery. Should you do that which the son of your slave could at any time have done better than yourself, they will affirm that *you have performed a most extraordinary act*. Should you obey your pas-

sions, they will affirm, *you have done well*. Should you pour forth the blood of your subjects as a river does its waters, they will pronounce, *you have done well*. Should you tax the free air, they will assert, *you have done well*. Should you, powerful as you are, become revengeful, still would they proclaim, you had *done well*. So they told the intoxicated Alexander, when he plunged his dagger into the bosom of his friend. Thus they addressed Nero, when he assassinated his mother.

MIRABEAU.

*Memorial to the King of Prussia.*

WHEN Waller was young he had the curiosity to go to court ! and he stood in the circle and saw James dine ; where, among other company, there sat at table two bishops, Neile and Andrews. The king proposed aloud this question : Whether he might not take his subjects money, when he needed it, without all this formality of parliament ? Neile replied, *God forbid you should not : for you are the breath of our nostrils.*

HUME.

*History of England, vol. vi, p. 151.*

COURTIERS,

## COURTIERS. \*

THE most lofty titles, and the most humble postures, which devotion has applied to the supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of adoration, of falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Dioclesian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. Excepting only on Sundays, when it was waved from a motive of religious pride, this humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the royal presence. In his transactions of business, Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, asserted the free spirit of a Frank, and the dignity of his master Otho. Yet his sincerity cannot disguise the abasement of his first audience.

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\* The preceding article related to the effect of courts, as they tend to deprave the prince to whom they are an appendage; the present article relates to their moral effects upon courtiers themselves, the persons of whom they are composed.



audience. When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions, Liutprand was compelled to bow and fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead. He arose, but, in the short interval, the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the ceiling, the imperial figure appeared in more new and gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence. In this honest and curious narrative, the bishop of Cremona represents the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, and which were preserved in the last age by the dukes of Moscovy or Russia.

GIBBON.

*Roman Empire, vol. v. p. 394.*

I HAVE just been sent upon an embassy to Japan. I was present at an audience given by the emperor to the Dutch envoy, who had sent several presents to all the courtiers, some days previous to his admission, but he was obliged to attend those designed for the emperor himself. From the accounts I had heard of this ceremony, my curiosity prompted me to be a spectator of the whole.

First went the presents, set out on beautiful enamelled tables, adorned with flowers, borne on men's shoulders, and followed by Japanese music and dancers. From so great respect paid to the gifts themselves, I had fancied the donors must receive almost divine honours. But, about a quarter

quarter of an hour after the presents had been carried in triumph, the envoy and his train were brought forward. They were covered from head to foot with long black veils, which prevented their seeing, each led by a conductor, chosen from the meanest of the people. In this dishonourable manner having traversed the city of Jedo, they at length arrived at the palace gate, and, after waiting half an hour, were admitted into the guard-room. Here their eyes were uncovered; and, in about an hour, the gentleman usher introduced them into the hall of audience. The emperor was at length shown, sitting in a kind of alcove at the upper end of the room, and the Dutch envoy was conducted towards the throne.

As soon as he had approached within a certain distance, the gentleman usher cried out with a loud voice, *Holanda Capitan*; upon these words the envoy fell flat upon the ground, and crept upon his hands and feet towards the throne. Still approaching, he reared himself upon his knees, and then bowed his forehead to the ground. These ceremonies being over, he was directed to withdraw, still groveling on his belly, and going backward like a lobster.

If these ceremonies essayed in the first audience, appeared mortifying, those which are practised in the second are infinitely more so. In the second audience, the emperor, and the ladies of court, were placed behind lettices, in such a manner as to see without being seen. Here all the Europeans were directed to pass in review, and grovel and act the

of the public ; to the public he owes all his time, the public should engage all his attention, and his love should have no object but the public ; for he deserves dignity, only in proportion as he gives up private enjoyment for the public good.

*Ib. liv. xii.*

THE least fault a king commits produces infinite mischief ; for it diffuses misery through a whole people, and sometimes for many generations.

*Ib. liv. xix.*

KINGS are generally mistrustful and indolent : mistrustful, by perpetually experiencing the artifices of the designing and corrupt ; and indolent, by the pleasures that solicit them, and a habit of leaving all business to others, without taking the trouble so much as to think for themselves.

*Ib. liv. xiii.*

To princes who have been spoiled by flattery, every thing that is sincere and honest appears to be ungracious and austere. Such princes are even weak enough to suspect a want of zeal for their service and respect for their authority, where they do not find a servility that is ready to flatter them in the abuse of their power. They are offended at all freedom of speech, all generosity of sentiment, which they consider as pride, censoriousness, and sedition ; and they contract a false delicacy, which every thing short of flattery disappoints and disgusts.

*Ib. liv. xiv.*

[Such

Such princes are a terror to mankind and mankind a terror to them. They retire from the public eye and immure themselves in the palace. They love darkness and disguise their characters, which however are perfectly known; the malignant curiosity of their subjects penetrates every veil and investigates every secret: but he that is thus known by all knows nobody. The self-interested wretches that surround him rejoice to perceive that he is inaccessible; and a prince that is inaccessible to men is inaccessible to truth. Those who avail themselves of his blindness are busy to calumniate or to banish all that would open his eyes. He lives in a kind of savage and unsociable magnificence, always the dupe of that imposition which he at once dreads and deserves. He that converses only with a small number of men, almost necessarily adopts their passions and their prejudices: and from passions and prejudices the best are not free. He must also receive his knowledge by report, and therefore lie at the mercy of tale-bearers, a despicable and detestable race, who are nourished by the poison that destroys others; who make what is little great, and what is blameless criminal, who, rather than not impute evil, invent it; and who to answer their own purposes, play upon the causeless suspicion and unworthy curiosity of a weak and jealous prince.

*Ib. lib. xxiv.*

KINGS wish to be absolute, and they are sometimes told that their best way to become so, is to make themselves beloved by the people. This

maxim

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maxim

the throne, he was not able to speak a word. Neither is there any remedy; because it is capital for those, who receive an audience, to spit or wipe their mouths in his majesty's presence. There is indeed another custom which I cannot altogether approve: when the king hath a mind to put any of his nobles to death in a gentle, indulgent manner, he commands the floor to be strewed with a certain brown powder of a deadly composition, which, being licked up, infallibly kills him in twenty-four hours. But in justice to this prince's great clemency, and the care he hath of his subjects' lives (wherein it were much to be wished, that the monarchs of Europe would imitate him) it must be mentioned for his honour, that strict orders are given to have the infected parts of the floor well washed after such executions, which, if his domestics neglect, they are in danger of incurring his displeasure. I myself heard him give directions, that one of his pages should be whipt, whose turn it was to give notice about washing the floor after an execution, but maliciously had omitted it, by which neglect a young lord of great hopes coming to an audience was unfortunately poisoned, although the king at that time had no design against his life. But this good prince was so gracious, as to forgive the poor page his whipping, upon promise, that he would do so no more without special orders.—To return from this digression; when I had crept within four yards of the throne, I raised myself gently upon my knees, and then, striking my forehead seven times against the

the ground, I pronounced the following words, as they had been taught me the night before, *Ick-pling gloffthrob squut serumm blibop mlasbnalt zwin tnodbalkuffb skiophad gurdubb asht*. This is the compliment established by the laws of the land for all persons admitted to the king's presence. It may be rendered into English thus: May your celestial majesty outlive the sun eleven moons and a half.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iii. ch. ix.*

THE emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the country shows, wherein they exceed all nations I have known both for dexterity and magnificence. I was diverted with none so much as that of the rope dancers, performed upon a slender white thread, extended about two feet and twelve inches from the ground. Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the reader's patience, to enlarge a little.

This diversion is only practised by those persons, who are candidates for great employments, and high favour at court. They are trained in this art from their youth, and are not always of liberal birth or noble education. When a great office is vacant either by death or disgrace (which often happens) five or six of those candidates petition the emperor to entertain his majesty and the court with a dance on the rope, and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the office. Very often the chief ministers themselves are commanded to show their skill, and to convince

vince the emperor, that they have not lost their faculty. Flimnap, the treasurer, is allowed to cut a caper on the strait rope at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire. I have seen him do the summerset \* several times together upon a trencher, fixed on a rope, which is no thicker than a common pack-thread in England. My friend Reldresal, principal secretary for private affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the treasurer; the rest of the great officers are much upon a par.

These diversions are often attended with fatal accidents, whereof great numbers are on record. I myself have seen two or three candidates break a limb. But the danger is much greater when the ministers themselves and their fellows are commanded to show their dexterity; for contending to excel themselves and their fellows they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them, who hath not received a fall, and some of them two or three. I was assured, that a year or two before my arrival, Flimnap would have infallibly broke his neck, if one of the king's cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the force of his fall.

There is likewise another diversion, which is only shown before the emperor and empress, and first minister, upon particular occasions. The emperor lays on the table three fine silken threads  
of

\* Summerset, or summersault, a gambol of a tumbler, in which he springs up, turns heels over head in the air, and comes down upon his feet.

of six inches long; one is blue, the other red, the other green. These threads are proposed as prizes for those persons, whom the emperor hath a mind to distinguish by a peculiar mark of his favour. The ceremony is performed in his majesty's great chamber of state, where the candidates are to undergo a trial of dexterity very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least resemblance of in any other country of the old or new world. The emperor holds a stick in his hands, both ends parallel to the horizon, while the candidates advancing, one by one, sometimes leap over the stick, sometimes creep under it backwards and forwards several times, according as the stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the emperor holds one end of the stick, and his first minister the other; sometimes the minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with most agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the blue coloured silk; the red is given to the next, and the green to the third; which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great persons about this court, who are not adorned with one of these girdles.

*Ib. part 1. cb. iii.*

THREE kings protested to me that in their whole reigns they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided: neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they showed with great strength of reason, that  
the



the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, resolute temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business.

*Ib. part iii, cb. viii.*

WHEN I first arrived in France, I found the late king [Louis XIV.] absolutely governed by women: and yet, considering his age, I believe there was no monarch in the universe who had less occasion for them. I one day' overheard a woman saying: We must do something for that young colonel: his valour I am well acquainted with; I will speak of it to the minister. Another said: It is strange that young abbé should be forgot: he must be a bishop; he is a man of birth and I can answer for his morals. Yet imagine not that the women who talked at this rate were the prince's favourites; they never spoke to him twice in their lives. The truth is, there is scarcely an individual who has any employment at court, that has not some woman through whose hands all the favours, and sometimes all the injustice he can do, always pass. These women are all fastened together by mutual ties, and form a kind of republic, of which the members, always active, succour and assist each other: it is in a manner a state within a state; and a person at court who should see the ministry act, without knowing that women govern them, would be like a man that sees a machine at work but is ignorant of the springs that move it.

Dost

Dost thou fancy, that a woman consents to be mistress to a minister of state, for the pleasure of sleeping with him? No such thing: it is to have an opportunity of presenting him every morning with five or six petitions; and the goodness of their disposition appears in their zeal for doing good to a number of unhappy persons, by which they gain a hundred thousand livres a year.

MONTESQUIEU.

*Persian Letters. No. cxi.*

It is impossible to enumerate the millions which the Marquis de Marigney reaped from the inheritance of the Marchioness de Pompadour his sister [mistress of Louis XV.] The sale of her furniture alone lasted a year.

*Private Life of Louis XV. vol. iv. p. 29.*

THE reformation of the imperial court was one of the first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian. Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, he had occasion for the services of a barber. An officer magnificently dressed presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprize, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances." He questioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed, that, besides a large salary and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty servants and as many horses. A thousand barbers, a thousand cup bearers, a thousand cooks, were distributed in the several offices of luxury; and

the number of eunuchs could be compared only with the insects of a summer's day.

GIBBON.

*Roman Empire, vol. ii. p. 283.*

BISHOP LATIMER said in a sermon at court, that he heard great speech that the king was poor, and many ways were propounded to make him rich: for his part, he had thought of one way, which was, that they should help the king to some good office; for all his officers were rich.

LORD BACON.

*Works, vol. iii, p. 288.*

LORD TALBOT attempted to reform the [royal] kitchen; but such, as he well observed, is the consequence of having duty done by one person, while another enjoys the emolument, that he found himself frustrated in all his designs. On that rock his whole adventure split.—His whole scheme of economy was dashed to pieces; his department became more expensive than ever; the civil list debt accumulated—Why? It was truly from a cause, which, though perfectly adequate to the effect, one would not have instantly guessed.—It was because the turnspit in the king's kitchen was a member of parliament. The king's domestic servants were all undone; his tradesmen remained unpaid, and became bankrupt—because the turnspit of the king's kitchen was a member of parliament. His majesty's slumbers were interrupted; his pillow was stuffed with thorns, and his peace of mind entirely broken—because the king's turnspit was a member of parliament. The judges were unpaid; the

the justice of the kingdom bent and gave way; the foreign ministers remained inactive and unprovided; the system of Europe was dissolved; the chain of our alliances was broken; all the wheels of government at home and abroad were stopped—*because the king's turnspit was a member of parliament.*

BURKE.

*Speech on Economical Reform, p. 33.*

MEN of condition naturally love to be about a court, and women of condition love it much more. But there is in all regular attendance so much of constraint, that if it were a mere charge without any compensation, you would soon have the court deserted by all the nobility of the kingdom. The most serious mischiefs would follow from such a desertion. Kings are naturally lovers of low company. They are so elevated above all the rest of mankind, that they must look upon all their subjects as on a level. They are rather apt to hate than to love their nobility, on account of the occasional resistance to their will, which will be made by their virtue, their petulance, or their pride. It must indeed be admitted, that many of the nobility are as perfectly willing to act the part of flatterers, tale-bearers, parasites, pimps, and buffoons, as any of the lowest and vilest of mankind. But they are not properly qualified for this object of their ambition. The want of a regular education, and early habits, and some lurking remains of their dignity, will never permit them to become a match for an

Italian eunuch, a mountebank, a fidler, a player, or any regular practitioner of that tribe.

*Ib. p. 55.*

ALL the prostitutes who set themselves to sale, all the locusts who devour the land, with crowds of spies, parasites and sycophants, and whole swarms of little, noisome, nameless insects, will hum and buzz in every corner of the court.—

A sort of men too low to be much regarded, and too high to be quite neglected, the lumber of every administration, the furniture of every court. These gilt carved things are seldom answerable for more than the men on a chess board, who are moved about at will, and on whom the conduct of the game is not to be charged. Some of these every prince must have about him. The pageantry of a court requires that he should.

BOLINGBROKE.

*Idea of a Patriot King.*

I HAVE known courts these thirty-six years, and know they differ; but in some things they are extremely constant. First in the trite old maxim of a minister's never forgiving those he hath injured. Secondly, in the insincerity of those who would be thought the best friends. Thirdly, in the love of fawning, cringing, and tale-bearing. Fourthly, in sacrificing those, whom we really wish well, to a point of interest or intrigue. Fifthly, in keeping every thing worth taking, for those who can do service or disservice.

SWIFT.

*Works, vol. ix. p. 349. Letter to Gay.*

HERE

HERE FLATT'RY, eldest born of GUILE,  
Weaves with rare skill the silken smile,  
The courtly cringe, the supple bow,  
The private squeeze, the levee vow,  
With which, no strange or recent case,  
Fools *in* deceive fools *out* of place.

CHURCHIL.

*The Duellist, vol. ii. p. 75.*

THIS court is equal to any other in artifice and cunning, and his majesty as great an adept in the arts of dissimulation; and though it is generally so coarse, so ill covered, as to deceive hardly any body, yet all are forced to pretend to be deceived.

JARDINE.

*Letters from Barbary, &c. vol. i. p. 42.*

IN the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we read of one \* whom the grandees of the court procured to be made secretary of state only to break his back in the business of the Queen of Scots, whose death they were then projecting. Like true courtiers, they first engage him in that fatal scene, and then desert him in it, using him only as a tool to do a present state job, and then to be reproached and ruined for what he had done. And a little observation of the world may show us, there is not only a course of beheading or hanging, but preferring men out of the way.

SOUTH.

*Sermons, vol.*

P 3

HAD

\* Davison. See the transaction at length in Hume's History of England, vol. v. p. 310.

HAD it not been for the presence of the queen's mother, Fouquet would have been arrested at his own house on the very evening of that magnificent entertainment, which he gave to Louis XIV. at his splendid chateau of Vaux. Just before his disgrace the king treated him with all the marks of a decided partiality. Princes, I know, not for what reason, generally affect to overwhelm with tokens of their regard those of their subjects whom they have resolved to ruin.

VOLTAIRE.

*Louis XIV. vol. ii.*

WHY I can smile, and murder while I smile ;  
And cry content, to that which grieves my heart ;  
And wet my cheeks with artificial tears ;  
And frame my face to all occasions ;  
I can add colours ev'n to the carnation ;  
Change shapes with Proteus, for advantages.

SHAKESPEARE.

*Third part K. Henry VI. Act iii.*

How wretched  
Is that poor man, that hangs on princes favours !  
There is betwixt that smile he would aspire to,  
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,  
More pangs and fears than wars or women have ;  
And when he falls he falls like Lucifer,  
Never to hope again.

SHAKESPEARE.

*Henry VIII. act iii.*

God help the man, condemn'd by cruel fate  
To court the seeming, or the real great.

Much

Much sorrow shall he feel, and suffer more  
 Than any slave that labours at the oar.  
 By slavish methods must he learn to please,  
 By smooth tongu'd flatt'ry, that curst *court disease*,  
 Supple to every wayward mood strike sail,  
 And shift with shifting humour's peevish gale.  
 To nature dead, he must adopt vile art,  
 And wear a smile with anguish in his heart.  
 A sense of honour would destroy his schemes,  
 And conscience ne'er must speak unless in dreams.  
 When he hath tamely borne for many years  
 Cold looks, forbidding frowns, contemptuous  
 sneers,

When he at last expects, good easy man,  
 To reap the profits of his labour'd plan,  
 Some cringing LACQUEY, or rapacious WHORE,  
 To favours of the great the surest door,  
 Some CATAMITE, or PIMP, in credit grown,  
 Who tempts another's wife, or sells his own,  
 Steps cross his hopes, the promis'd boon denies,  
 And for some MINION'S MINION claims the prize.

CHURCHIL.

*Night, vol. i. p. 84.*

THIS is not Lisbon, nor the circle this  
 Where like a statue thou hast stood besieg'd  
 By sycophants, and fools, the growth of courts;  
 Where thy gull'd eyes in all the gaudy round  
 Met nothing but a lie in every face;  
 And the gross flattery of a gaping crowd,  
 Envious who first should catch and first applaud  
 The stuff or royal nonsense: when I spoke,

from

P 4

My



My honest homely words were carp'd and censur'd,  
 For want of courtly style : related actions,  
 Though modestly reported, pass'd for boasts :  
 Secure of merit, if I ask'd reward,  
 Thy hungry minions thought their rights invaded,  
 And the bread snatch'd from pimps and parasites.

DRYDEN.

*Don Sebastian, active.*

——. You have not visited the court, Chamont,  
 Since your return ?

——. I have no business there ;  
 I have not slavish temperance enough  
 To attend a favourite's heels, and watch his smiles,  
 Bear an ill office done me to my face,  
 And thank the lord that wrong'd me, for his favour.

\* \* \* \* \*

——. I doubt there's deep resentment in his  
 mind  
 For the late slight his honour suffer'd there.

——. Has he not reason ? When for what he  
 had borne,  
 Long, hard, and faithful toil, he might have claim'd  
 Places in honour, and employment high ;  
 A huffing, shining, flatt'ring, cringing coward,  
 A canker worm of peace, was rais'd above him.

\* \* \* \* \*

Go to the camp, preferment's noblest mart,  
 Where honour ought to have the fairest play, you'll  
 find

Corruption

Corruption, envy, discontent, and faction,  
 Almost in every band : how many men  
 Have spent their blood in their dear country's  
 service ;

Yet now pine under want, while selfish slaves,  
 That e'en could cut their throats whom now they  
 fawn on,

Like deadly locusts, eat the honey up,  
 Which those industrious bees so hardly toil'd for.

\* \* \* \* \*

Avoid both courts and camps,  
 Where dilatory fortune plays the jilt  
 With the brave, noble, honest, gallant man,  
 To throw herself away on fools and knaves.

\* \* \* \* \*

Who merit, ought indeed to rise i' th' world ;  
 But no wise man that's honest should expect.  
 What man of sense would rack his gen'rous mind,  
 To practise all the base formalities  
 And forms of business ? force a grave starch'd face,  
 When he's a very libertine in's heart ?  
 Seem not to know this or that man in public,  
 When privately, perhaps, they meet together,  
 And lay the scene of some brave fellow's ruin ?  
 Such things are done.

\* \* \* \* \*

No flatt'ry, boy, an honest man can't live by't :  
 It is a little sneaking art, which knaves  
 Use to cajole and soften fools withal.  
 If thou hast flatt'ry in thy nature, out with't,  
 Or send it to a court, for there 'twill thrive.

'Tis

'Tis next to money current there,  
To be seen daily in as many forms  
As there are sorts of vanities and men.

Q. WAY.

*Orphan, act i. and ii.*

WOULD you be happy, leave this fatal place;  
Fly from the court's pernicious neighbourhood,  
Where innocence is shunn'd, and blushing modesty  
Is made the scorner's jest: where hate, deceit,  
And deadly ruin, wear the mask of beauty,  
And draw deluded fools with shows of pleasure.

ROWE.

*June Shore, act ii.*

I AM no courtier, no fawning dog of state,  
To lick and kiss the hand that buffets me.  
Nor can I smile upon my guest, and praise  
His stomach, when I know he feeds on poison,  
And death disguis'd sits grinning at my table.

SEWEL.

*Walter Raleigh, act 6*

THE court's a golden, but a fatal circle,  
Upon whose magic skirts a thousand devils  
In chrystal forms sit tempting innocence;  
And beckon early virtue from its centre.

LEE.

*Nero, act ii.*

THOU art too good for courts—where ruin preys  
On innocence; and nought but guile is safe.

\* \* \* \* \*

Shame on the great! why long'd my eyes for  
courts?

2817720210

— Haughty

— Haughty of heart, why have they souls thus  
abject?

You threaten, praise, fright, flatter, and insult me!  
Gods! what a creeping, climbing, hot, cold crea-  
ture,

Is this big, little flutt'rer, called a courtier.

HILL.

*Merops, act iii.*

MINISTERS.

## MINISTERS.

**FALSEHOOD** and insincerity, unsuitable as they seem to the dignity of public transactions, offend us with a less degrading idea of meanness, than when they are found in the intercourse of private life. In the latter, they discover a want of courage; in the other only a defect of power: and as it is impossible for the most able statesmen to subdue millions of followers and enemies by their own personal strength, the world, under the name of policy, seems to have granted them a very liberal indulgence of craft and dissimulation.

GIBBON.

*Roman Empire, vol. i. 119.*

I HAD formerly upon occasion discoursed with my master upon the nature of government in general, and particularly of our own excellent constitution, deservedly the wonder and envy of the whole world. But having here accidentally mentioned a minister of state, he commanded me some time after to inform him, what species of *yaboo* I particularly meant by that appellation.

I told

I told him, that a chief or first minister of state, who was the person I intended to describe, was a creature wholly exempt from joy and grief, love and hatred, pity and anger ; at least makes use of no other passions, but a violent desire of wealth, power, and titles ; that he applies his words to all uses, except to the indication of his mind ; that he never tells a truth but with an intent that you should take it for a lie ; nor a lie, but with a design that you should take it for a truth ; that those he speaks worst of behind their backs are in the surest way of preferment ; and whenever he begins to praise you to others, or to yourself, you are from that day forlorn. The worst mark you can receive is a promise, especially when it is confirmed with an oath ; after which every wise man retires, and gives over all hopes.

There are three methods by which a man may rise to be chief minister. The first is by knowing how with prudence to dispose of a wife, a daughter, or a sister. The second by betraying or undermining his predecessor : and the third is by a furious zeal in public assemblies against the corruptions of the court. But a wise prince would chuse rather to employ those, who practise the last of these methods ; because such zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the will and passions of their master. These ministers, having all employments at their disposal, preserve themselves in power by bribing the majority of a senate or great council ; and at last by an expedient called an *act of indemnity* they secure themselves from after reckonings,

reckonings, and retire from the public laden with the spoils of the nation.

The palace of a chief minister is a seminary to breed up others in his own trade; the pages, lacquies, and porter, by imitating their master, become ministers of state in their several districts, and learn to excel in the three principal ingredients, of insolence, lying, and bribery. Accordingly they have a subaltern court paid to them by persons of the best rank; and sometimes, by the force of dexterity and impudence arrive through several gradations to be successors to their lord.

He is usually governed by a decayed wench, or favourite footman, who are the tunnels through which all graces are conveyed, and may properly be called, in the last resort, the governors of the kingdom.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iv. ch. vi.*

MINISTERS and favourites are a sort of people who have a state prisoner in their custody, the whole management of whose understanding and actions they can easily engross. This they completely effect with a weak and credulous master, nor can the most cautious and penetrating elude their machinations.

Ministers become a sort of miniature kings in their turn. The king has been used to hear those things only which were adapted to give him pleasure, and it is with a grating and uneasy sensation that he listens to communications of a different sort. He has been used to unhesitating compli-

ance;

ance, and it is with difficulty he can digest expostulation and opposition. The temporising politician expects the same pliability in others that he exhibits in himself; and the fault which he can least forgive is an ill timed and inauspicious scrupulosity.

Expecting this compliance from all the coadjutors and instruments of his designs, he soon comes to set it up as a standard by which to judge of the merits of all other men. He is deaf to every recommendation but that of a fitness for the secret service of government, or a tendency to promote his interest, and extend the sphere of his influence.

The worst man with this argument in his favour will seem worthy of encouragement; the best man who has no advocate but virtue to plead for him will be treated with superciliousness and neglect.—

To obtain honour, it will be necessary to pay a servile court to administration, to bear with unaltered patience their contumely and scorn, to flatter their vices, and render ourselves useful to their private gratification. To obtain honours, it will be necessary, by assiduity and intrigue, to make to ourselves a party, to procure the recommendation of lords and the good word of women of pleasure and clerks in office. To obtain honour, it will be necessary to merit disgrace. The whole scene consists in hollowness, duplicity, and falsehood. The minister speaks fair to the man he despises, and the slave pretends a generous attachment, while he thinks of nothing but his personal interest.

Godwin.

*Political Justice, b. v. ch. v.*

He-



Hegessippus, that he might seize Protesilaus, [the prime minister] without delay, went immediately to his house. It was not so large as the palace, but it was better designed both for convenience and pleasure; the architecture was in a better taste, and it was decorated with a profusion of expence, which the most cruel oppression had supplied. He was then in a marble saloon that opened to his baths, reclining negligently upon a couch, that was covered with purple embroidered with gold: he appeared to be weary, and even exhausted with his labours; there was a gloom of discontent upon his brow, and his eye expressed a kind of agitation and ferocity not to be described. The principal persons of the kingdom sat round him upon carpets, watching his looks even to the slightest glance of his eye, and reflecting every expression of his countenance from their own: if he opened his mouth, all was extacy and admiration; and before he had uttered a word, they vied with each other which should be the loudest in the praise of what he had to say. One of them regaled him with an account of the services he had rendered to the king, heightened with the most ridiculous exaggeration; another declared that his mother had conceived him by Jupiter in the likeness of her husband, and that he was son to the father of the gods. In some verses that were recited by a poet, he was said to have been instructed by the muses, and to have rivalled Apollo in all the works of imagination and wit; and another poet, still more servile and shameless, celebrated him as the inventor

tor of the polite arts, and the father of a people among whom he had scattered plenty and happiness, from the horn of Amalthea, with a liberal hand.

Protesilaus heard all this adulation with a cold, negligent, and disdainful air, as if he thought his merit was without bounds, and that he honoured those too much from whom he condescended to receive praise. Among other flatterers, there was one who took the liberty to whisper some jest upon the new regulations that were taking place under the direction of Mentor: the countenance of Protesilaus relaxed into a smile; and immoderate laughter immediately shook the whole company, though the greatest part knew nothing of what had been said. The countenance of Protesilaus became again haughty and severe, and every one immediately shrunk back into timidity and silence: all watched for the happy moment in which he would turn his eye upon them, and permit them to speak; and each having some favour to ask, discovered the greatest agitation and perplexity. Their supplicatory posture supplied the want of words; and they seemed to be impressed with the same humility and reverence as a mother who petitions the gods, at their altar, for the life of an only son.— Every countenance expressed a tender complacency and admiration; but every heart concealed the most malignant envy, and implacable hatred.

At this moment Hegesippus entered the saloon; and seizing the sword of Protesilaus, acquainted

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him,

him, that he had the king's orders to carry him to Samos. At these dreadful words all the arrogance of the favourite fell from him in a moment, like the fragment of a rock that is broken from the summit: he threw himself at the feet of Hegesippus; he wept, hesitated, faltered, trembled, and embraced the knees of a man upon whom, an hour before, he would have disdained to turn his eye. At the same time his flatterers, who saw that his ruin was complete and irreparable, insulted him with a meanness and cruelty worthy of their adulation.

FENELON.

*Telemaque, liv. xiv.*

My whole expectation now lay in my letter to the great man. I found it no easy matter to gain admittance. However, after bribing the servants with half my worldly fortune, I was at last shown into a spacious apartment, my letter being previously sent up for his lordship's inspection. During this anxious interval, I had full time to look round me. Every thing was grand, and of happy contrivance; the paintings, the furniture, the gildings petrified me with awe, and raised my idea of the owner. Ah, thought I to myself, how very great must the possessor of all these things be, who carries in his head the business of the state, and whose house displays half the wealth of the kingdom: sure his genius must be unfathomable! During these awful reflections I heard a step come heavily forward. Ah, this is the great man himself! No, it

it was only a chambermaid. Another foot was heard soon after. This must be he! No, it was only the grear man's valet de chambre. At last his lordship actually made his appearance. Are you, cried he, the bearer of this here letter? I answered with a bow. I learn by this, continued he, as how that—but just at that instant a servant delivered him a card, and without taking further notice he went out of the room, and left me to digest my own happiness at my leisure. I saw no more of him till told by a footman that his lordship was going to his coach at the door. Down I immediately followed, and joined my voice to that of three or four more, who came, like me, to petition for favours. His lordship however went too fast for us, and was gaining his chariot door with large strides, when I hallowed out to know if I was to have any reply. He was by this time got in and muttered an answer, half of which I only heard, the other half was lost in the rattling of his chariot wheels. I stood for some time with my neck stretched out, in the posture of one that was listening to catch the glorious sounds, till looking round me I found myself alone at his lordship's gate.

GODSMITH.

*Vicar of Wakefield, ch. xx.*

My uncle and I went to the duke of N's levee with Mr. Barton, who, being one of the duke's adherents, undertook to be our introducer. The room was pretty well filled with people. Mr.

Barton was immediately accosted by a person, well stricken in years, tall, and raw-boned, with a hook nose, and an arch leer, that indicated at least as much cunning as sagacity. Our conductor saluted him by the name of captain C—, and afterwards informed us he was a man of shrewd parts, whom the government occasionally employed in secret services.—But I have had the history of him more at large from another quarter : he had been, many years ago, concerned in fraudulent practices, as a merchant in France ; and being convicted of some of them, was sent to the galleys, from whence he was delivered by the interest of the late duke of Ormond, to whom he had recommended himself in a letter as his namesake and relation. He was in the sequel employed by our ministry as a spy ; and, in the war of 1740, traversed all Spain, as well as France, in the disguise of a capuchin, at the extreme hazard of his life, inasmuch as the court of Madrid had actually got scent of him, and given orders to apprehend him at St. Sebastian's, from whence he had fortunately retired but a few hours before the order arrived. This and other hair-breadth escapes he pleaded so effectually as a merit with the English ministry, that they allowed him a comfortable pension, which he now enjoys in his old age. He has still access to all the ministers, and is said to be consulted by them on many subjects, as a man of uncommon understanding and great experience. He is in fact a fellow of some parts and invincible assurance ; and  
in

in his discourse he assumed such an air of selfsufficiency, as may well impose upon some of the shallow politicians who now labour at the helm of administration. But, if he is not belied, this is not the only imposture of which he is guilty. They say he is at bottom not only a Roman Catholic, but really a priest, and while he pretends to disclose to our state pilots all the springs that move the cabinet of Versailles, he is actually picking up intelligence for the service of the French minister. Be that as it may, captain C— entered into conversation with us in the most familiar manner, and treated the duke's character without any ceremony. "This wiseacre, (said he) is still abed; and, I think, the best thing he can do is to sleep on till Christmas; for, when he gets up, he does nothing but expose his own folly. Since Grenville was turned out, there has been no minister in this nation worth the meal that whitened his periwig.—They are so ignorant, they scarce know a crab from a cauliflower; and then they are such dunces, there's no making them comprehend the plainest proposition. In the beginning of the war, this poor half-witted creature told me, in a great fright, that thirty thousand French had marched from Arcadia to Cape Breton."—"Where did they find transports (said I)?"—"Transports (cried he)! I tell you they marched by land."—"By land to the island of Cape Breton!"—"What! is Cape Breton an island?"—"Certainly."—Ha! are you sure of that?"

When I pointed it out in the map, he examined it earnestly with his spectacles; then taking me in his arms, "My dear C— (cried he)! you always bring us good news. Egad! I'll go directly, and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island."

He seemed disposed to entertain us with more anecdotes of this nature, at the expence of his grace, when he was interrupted by the arrival of the Algerine ambassador, a venerable Turk, with a long white beard, attended by his dragoman or interpreter, and another officer of his household, who had got no stockings to his legs. Captain C— immediately spoke with an air of authority to a servant in waiting, bidding him go and tell the duke to rise, as there was a great deal of company, and, among others, the ambassador from Algiers.— Then turning to us, "This poor Turk (said he), notwithstanding his grey beard, is a green-horn. He has been several years resident at London, and still is ignorant of our political revolutions. This visit is intended for the *prime* minister of England; but you'll see how this wise duke will receive it as a mark of attachment to his own person."—"Certain it is the duke seemed eager to acknowledge the compliment. A door opened, he suddenly bolted out with a shaving cloth under his chin, his face frothed up to the eyes with soap lather, and running up to the ambassador, grinned hideous in his face.—"My dear Mahomet (said he), God love your long beard! I hope the dey will make you a horse-

horse-tail at the next promotion—ha, ha, ha!—Have but a moment's patience, and I'll send to you in a twinkling."—"So saying, he retreated into his den, leaving the Turk in some confusion. After a short pause, however, he said something to his interpreter, the meaning of which I had great curiosity to know, as he turned up his eyes while he spoke, expressing astonishment mixed with devotion. We were gratified by means of the communicative captain C—, who conversed with the dragoman as an old acquaintance. Ibrahim, the ambassador, who had mistaken his grace for the minister's fool, was no sooner undeceived by the interpreter, than he exclaimed to this effect:—"Holy prophet! I don't wonder that this nation prospers, seeing it is governed by the counsel of idiots; a species of men whom all good mussulmen revere as the organs of immediate inspiration." Ibrahim was favoured with a particular audience of short duration; after which the duke conducted him to the door, and then returned to diffuse his gracious looks among the crowds of his worshippers.

As Mr. Barton advanced to present me to his grace, it was my fortune to attract his notice before I was announced. He forthwith met me half way, and seizing me by the hand, "My dear Sir Francis! (cried he) this is so kind—I vow to God!—I am so obliged—Such attention to a poor broken minister—Well—pray when does your excellency set sail?—For God's sake have a care of

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your



your health, and eat stewed prunes in the passage.—Next to your own precious health, pray, my dear excellency, take care of the five nations.—Our good friends, the five nations—the Toryrories, the Macco'macks, the Out o'-the-ways, the Crickets, and the Kickshaws.—Let 'em have plenty of blankets, and stinkubus, and wampum; and your excellency wo'nt fail to scour the kettle, and boil the chain, and bury the tree, and plant the hatchet.—Ha, ha, ha!" When he had uttered this rhapsody with his usual precipitation, Mr. Barton gave him to understand, that I was neither Sir Francis nor Saint Francis, but simply Mr. Melford, nephew to Mr. Bramble; who, stepping forward, made his bow at the same time. "Odso! no more it is Sir Francis (said this wise statesman)—Mr. Melford, I am glad to see you—I sent you an engineer to fortify your dock—Mr. Bramble—your servant, Mr. Bramble—How d'ye, good Mr. Bramble? Your nephew is a pretty young feilow!—His father is my old friend—How does he hold it? Still troubled with that damned disorder, ha?"—No, my lord (replied my uncle), all his troubles are over—He has been dead these fifteen years."—Dead! how—yes, faith! now I remember: he is dead sure enough.—Well, and how—does the young gentleman stand for Haverfordwest? or—a—what d'ye—My dear Mr. Milfordhaven, I'll do you all the service in my power—I hope I have some credit left."—My uncle then gave him to understand that I was still a minor; and that we

had no intention to trouble him at present for any favour whatsoever.—“ I came hither with my nephew (added he) to pay our respects to your grace; and I may venture to say, that his views and mine are at least as disinterested as those of any individual in this assembly.”—“ My dear Mr. Brambleberry ! you do me infinite honour— I shall always rejoice to see you and your hopeful nephew, Mr. Milfordhaven—My credit, such as it is, you may command. I wish we had more friends of your kidney.”

SMOLLET.

*Humphrey Clinker, vol. i. p. 123.*

IF you ask me where to look for those beautiful shining qualities of prime ministers and the great favourites of princes, that are so finely painted in dedications, addresses, epitaphs, funeral sermons; and inscriptions ? I answer, there, and no where else. Where would you look for the excellency of a statue, but in that part which you see of it ? It is the polished outside only that has the skill and labour of the sculptor to boast of; what is out of sight is untouched. Would you break the head or cut open the breast to look for the brains or the heart, you would only show your ignorance and destroy the workmanship. This has often made me compare the virtues of [great] men to your large china jars ; they make a fine show, and are ornamental to a chimney ; one would, by the bulk they appear in, and the value that is set upon them, think they might be  
very

very useful, but look into a thousand of them, and you will find nothing but dust and cobwebs.

MANDEVILLE.

*Fable of the Bees: Remark (O).*

I KNOW not how it happens, but there is hardly ever a prince so bad but his minister is worse: If he commit any ill action he is still prompted to it; accordingly the ambition of princes is never so dangerous as baseness of soul in his counsellors.

MONTESQUIEU.

*Persian Letters. Let. 127.*

It is certainly an easier task, and there is somewhat less provoking as well as dangerous in it, to struggle even with a great prince who stands on prerogative, than with a weak but profligate minister, if he has the means of corruption in his power, and if the luxury and prostitution of the age have enabled him to bring it into fashion. Nothing surely could provoke men who had the spirit of liberty in their souls, more than to figure to themselves one of those saucy creatures of fortune, whom she raises in the extravagance of her caprice, dispatching his emissaries, ecclesiastical and secular, like so many evil demons, to the north and to the south, to buy the votes of the people, with the money of the people, and to chuse a representative body, not of the people, but of the enemy of the people, of himself.

BOLINGBROKE.

*Dissertation on Parties, Let. vi.*

I HAVE

I HAVE known great ministers, distinguished for wit and learning, who preferred none but dunces.

Princes usually make wiser choices than the servants whom they trust for the disposal of places. I have known a prince more than once chuse an able minister; but I never observed that minister to use his credit in the disposal of an employment to a person whom he thought the fittest for it. One of the greatest in this age owned and excused the matter from the violence of parties and the unreasonableness of friends.

SWIFT.

*Thoughts on Various Subjects: Works, vol. v.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the common complaint of the knavery of men in power, I have known no great ministers or men of parts in business so wicked as their inferiors; their sense and knowledge preserve them from a hundred common rogueries, and when they become bad, it is generally more from a necessity of their situation, than from a natural bent to evil.

A MAN coming to the water side is surrounded by all the crew; every one is officious, every one making applications, every one offering his services; the whole bustle of the place seems only for him. The same man going from the water side, no noise is made about him, no creature takes notice of him, all let him pass with utter neglect! the picture of a minister when he comes into power and when he goes out.

*Ib. vol. vi. p. 196.*

ART

ART thou a statesman,  
And can'st not be a hypocrite ? Impossible :  
Do not distrust thy virtues.

DRYDEN.

*Don Sebastian, act. ii.*

[STATESMEN are]

The workmanship of inconsiderate favour :  
The creatures of rash love : one of those meteors  
Which monarchs raise from earth ;  
And people, wondering how they came so high,  
Fear from their influence plagues, wars, and  
famine.

IDEM.

*Secret Love, act ii.*

OH ! what a mine of mischief is a statesman !  
Ye furies, whirlwinds, and ye treach'rous rocks,  
Ye ministers of death, devouring fire,  
Convulsive earthquake, and plague tainted air,  
All you are merciful and mild to him.

SEWEL.

*Sir Walter Raleigh, act*

*Cristiern (King)* Your observation's just, I see  
it, Trollio :  
Men are machines with all their boasted freedom ;  
Their movements turn upon some favourite  
passion ;  
Let art but find the latent foible out,  
We touch the spring, and wind them at our  
pleasure.

*Trollio (his minister)* Let heaven spy out for  
virtue, and then starve it :

But

But vice and frailty are the statesman's quarry,  
 The objects of our search and of our science,  
 Mark'd by our smiles and cherish'd by our bounty;  
 'Tis hence you lord it o'er your servile senates;  
 How low the slaves will stoop to gorge their lusts  
 When aptly baited.

BROOKE.

*Gustavus Vasa, act iv.*

You have not, as good patriots should do,  
 studied

The public good, but your particular ends :  
 Factious among yourselves: preferring such  
 To offices and honours, as ne'er read  
 The elements of saving policy ;  
 But deeply skill'd in all the principles  
 That usher to destruction.

MASSINGER.

*Bondman, act i.*

PARTIES

And I could demonstrate, that they have had the opportunity of doing all this mischief, nay that they themselves had their origin and growth from that complex form of government which we are wisely taught to look upon as so great a blessing.

BURKE.

*Vindication of Natural Society, p. 74.*

TITLES.

## TITLES AND NOBILITY.

THE manly pride of the Romans, content with substantial power, had left to the east the forms and ceremonies of ostentatious greatness. But when they lost even the semblance of those virtues which were derived from their ancient freedom, the simplicity of Roman manners was insensibly corrupted by the stately affectation of the courts of Asia. The distinctions of personal merit and influence, so conspicuous in a republic, so feeble and obscure under a monarchy, were abolished by the despotism of the emperors; who substituted in their room a severe subordination of rank and office, from the titled slaves who were seated on the steps of the throne, to the meanest instruments of arbitrary power. In this divine hierarchy (for such it is frequently styled) every rank was marked with the most scrupulous exactness, and its dignity was displayed in a variety of trifling and solemn ceremonies, which it was a study to learn, and a sacrilege to neglect. The purity of the Latin language was debased, by adopting, in the intercourse of pride and flattery, a profusion of

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epithets



epithets, which Tully would scarcely have understood, and which Augustus would have rejected with indignation. The principal officers of the empire were saluted, even by the sovereign himself, with the deceitful titles of your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Excellency*, your *Eminence*, your *Sublime and Wonderful Magnitude*, your *Illustrious and Magnificent Highness*.

GIBBON.

*Roman Empire, vol. ii. p. 20.*

THE titles of European princes are rather more numerous than ours of Asia, but by no means so sublime. The king of Visapour or Pegu, not satisfied with claiming the globe, and all its appurtenances, to him and his heirs, asserts a property even in the firmament, and extends his orders to the milky way. The monarchs of Europe, with more modesty, confine their titles to earth; but make up by number what is wanting in their sublimity. Such is their passion for a long list of these splendid trifles, that I have known a German prince with more titles than subjects, and a Spanish nobleman with more names than shirts.

GOLDSMITH.

*Citizen of the World, vol. ii. let. 120.*

THE princes of Europe have found out a manner of rewarding their subjects, by presenting them with about two yards of blue ribbon, which is worn about the shoulder. They who are honoured with this mark of distinction are called knights, and the king himself is always the head of the order. Should a nobleman happen to lose his leg in battle,

tle, the king presents him with two yards of ribbon, and he is paid for the loss of his limb. Should an ambassador spend all his paternal fortune, in supporting the honour of his country abroad, the king presents him with two yards of ribbon, which is to be considered as equivalent to his estate. In short, while an European king has a yard of blue or green ribbon left, he need be under no apprehension of wanting statesmen, generals, and soldiers.

*Ib. let. 64.*

By honour, in its proper and genuine signification, we mean nothing else but the good opinion of others, which is counted more or less substantial, the more or less noise or bustle is made about the demonstration of it; and when we say the sovereign is the fountain of honour, it signifies that he has the power, by titles, ceremonies, or both together, to stamp a mark upon whom he pleases, that shall be as current as his coin, and procure the owner the good opinion of every body, whether he deserves it or not.

MANDEVILLE.

*Fable of the Bees, remark (C).*

I HAD the curiosity to enquire in a particular manner [of the governor of Glubdubdrib, the island of sorcerers or magicians] by what methods great numbers had procured to themselves high titles of honour and prodigious estates; and I confined my enquiry to a very modern period, however, without grating upon present times, because I would be sure to give no offence even to foreigners;

reigners; for I hope the reader need not be told, that I do not in the least intend my own country in what I say upon this occasion. A great number of persons concerned were called up, and upon a very slight examination discovered such a scene of infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some seriousness. Perjury, oppression, subornation, fraud, pandarism, and the like *infirmities*, were amongst the most excusable arts they had to mention; and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, great allowance. But when some confessed they owed their greatness and wealth to the prostituting of their own wives and daughters; others to the betraying their country or their prince; some to poisoning, more to the perverting of justice in order to destroy the innocent: I hope, I may be pardoned, if these discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound veneration, which I am naturally apt to pay to persons of high rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost respect due to their sublime dignity by us their inferiors.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iii. ch. viii.*

*Autolicus.* [To whom enter Old Shepherd and Son.] Here come those I have done good to against my will, and already appearing in the blossoms of their fortune.

*Old Shepherd.* Come boy; I am past more children; but thy sons and daughters will be all gentlemen born.

*Son.*

*Son.* (To *Autolicus*), you are well met, sir : you denied to fight with me this other day, because I was no gentleman born : see you these clothes ? say, you see them not, and think me still no gentleman born. Give me the lie ; do ; and try whether I am now gentleman born.

*Autolicus.* I know you are now, sir, gentleman born.

*Son.* Ay, and have been so any time these four hours.

*O. Shepherd.* And so have I, boy.

*Son.* So you have :—but I was a gentleman born before my father : for the king's son took me by the hand, and called me brother ; and then the two kings called my father brother ; and then the prince my brother, and the princess my sister, called my father, father ; and so we wept : and there was the first gentleman-like tears that ever we shed.

*O. Shepherd.* We may live, son, to shed many more.

*Son.* Ay ; or else 'twere hard luck, being in so preposterous a state as we are.

SHAKESPEAR.

*Winter's Tale, act. v.*

THE vulgar distinction between people of birth and people of no birth, will probably puzzle the critics and antiquarians of the thirtieth or fortieth centuries, when, in the judicious or laborious researches into the customs and manners of these present times, they shall have reason to suppose, that in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth

centuries, the island of Great Britain was inhabited by two sorts of people, some born, but the much greater number unborn.—I therefore take with pleasure this opportunity of explaining and clearing up this difficulty to my remotest successors in the republic of letters, by giving them the true meaning of the several expressions of great birth, noble birth, and no birth at all.

Great and illustrious birth is ascertained and authenticated by a pedigree carefully preserved in the family, which takes at least an hour's time to unroll, and when unrolled discloses twenty marriages of valiant and puissant Geoffreys and Hildebrands, with as many chaste and pious Blanches and Mauds, before the conquest, not without here and there a dash of the Plantagenets. But if unfortunately the insolent worms should have devoured the pedigree, as well as the persons of the illustrious family, that defect may be supplied by the ancient records of the herald's office, that inestimable repository of good sense and useful knowledge. If this great birth is graced with a peerage, so much the better ; but if not, it is no great matter ; for being so solid a good in itself, it wants no borrowed advantage, and is unquestionably the most pleasing sentiment that a truly generous mind is capable of feeling.

Noble birth implies only a peerage in the family. Ancestors are by no means necessary for this kind of birth : the patent is the midwife, and the very first descent is noble.

Birth,

Birth, singly, and without an epithet, extends, I cannot positively say how far, but negatively it stops where useful arts and industry begin. Merchants, tradesmen, yeomen, farmers, and ploughmen, are not born, or at least in so mean a way, as not to deserve that name ; and it is perhaps for that reason that their mothers are said to be delivered, rather than brought to bed of them. But baronets, knights, and squires have the honour of being born.

WORLD.

No. 114.

THERE are a set of men in all the states of Europe who assume from their infancy a pre-eminence independent of their moral character. The attention paid them from the moment of their birth, gives them the idea that they are formed for command ; they soon learn to distinguish themselves as a distinct species, and being secure of a certain rank and station, take no pains to make themselves worthy of it. To this institution we owe so many indifferent ministers, ignorant magistrates, and bad generals

ABBE RAYNAL.

*Hist. of European Settlements, b. i.*

HIS is but a poor observer, who has not seen that the generality of peers, far from supporting themselves in a state of independent greatness, are but too apt to fall into an oblivion of their proper dignity, and to run headlong into an abject servitude.

BURKE.

*Thoughts on the Discontents, p. 28.*

Is there a lord that knows a cheerful noon,  
 Without a fidler, flatterer, or buffoon?  
 Whose table wit, or modest merit share,  
 Unelbow'd by a gamester, pimp, or player?

POPE.

*Moral Epistles, epist. iii.*

SEVERAL of the great, I am told, understand  
 as much of farriery as their grooms: and a horse,  
 with any share of merit, can never want a patron  
 among the nobility.

GOLDSMITH.

*Citizen of the World, vol. ii. let. lxxxvi.*

OUR young nobility are bred from their childhood in idleness and luxury. As soon as their years will permit, they consume their vigour; and contract odious diseases among lewd females; and when their fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some woman of mean birth, disagreeable person, and unsound constitution, merely for the sake of money, whom they hate and despise. The productions of such marriages are generally scrophulous, ricketty, or deformed children; by which means the family seldom continues above three generations, unless the wife takes care to provide a healthy father among her neighbours or domestics, in order to improve and continue the breed. A weak diseased body, a meagre countenance, and sallow complexion, are the true marks of noble blood; and a healthy robust appearance is so disgraceful in a man of quality, that the world concludes his father to have been a groom or a coachman.

man. The imperfections of his mind are parallel with those of his body, being a composition of spleen, dullness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality, and pride.

Without the consent of this illustrious body [of nobles] no law can be enacted, repealed, or altered; and these nobles have likewise the decision of all our possessions without appeal.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part. iii. ch. vi.*

LET states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentry do multiply too fast: for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but a gentleman's labourer.

LORD BACON.

*Works, vol. iii. p. 343.*

PRINCES and lords may flourish or may fade,  
A breath can make them as a breath has made;  
But a bold peasantry, a nation's pride,  
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.

GOLDSMITH.

*Deserted Village.*

It is surprising what an influence titles shall have upon the mind, even though these titles be of our own making. Like children, we dress up the puppets in finery, and then stand in astonishment at the plastic wonder. I have been told of a rat-catcher here, who strolled for a long time about the villages near town, without finding any employment. At last, however, he thought proper  
to



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 as much of farriery as their grooms: and a horse,  
 with any share of merit, can never want a patron  
 among the nobility.

GOLDSMITH.

*Citizen of the World, vol. ii. let. lxxvii.*

OUR young nobility are bred from their childhood in idleness and luxury. As soon as their years will permit, they consume their vigour; and contract odious diseases among lewd females; and when their fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some woman of mean birth, disagreeable person, and unsound constitution, merely for the sake of money, whom they hate and despise. The productions of such marriages are generally scrophulous, ricketty, or deformed children; by which means the family seldom continues above three generations, unless the wife takes care to provide a healthy father among her neighbours or domestics, in order to improve and continue the breed. A weak diseased body, a meagre countenance, and sallow complexion, are the true marks of noble blood; and a healthy robust appearance is so disgraceful in a man of quality, that the world concludes his father to have been a groom or a coachman.

man. The imperfections of his mind are parallel with those of his body, being a composition of spleen, dullness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality, and pride.

Without the consent of this illustrious body [of nobles] no law can be enacted, repealed, or altered; and these nobles have likewise the decision of all our possessions without appeal.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part. iii. ch. vi.*

LET states that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentry do multiply too fast: for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but a gentleman's labourer.

LORD BACON.

*Works, vol. iii. p. 343.*

PRINCES and lords may flourish or may fade,  
A breath can make them as a breath has made;  
But a bold peasantry, a nation's pride,  
When once destroy'd, can never be supplied.

GOLDSMITH.

*Deserted Village.*

It is surprising what an influence titles shall have upon the mind, even though these titles be of our own making. Like children, we dress up the puppets in finery, and then stand in astonishment at the plastic wonder. I have been told of a rat-catcher here, who strolled for a long time about the villages near town, without finding any employment. At last, however, he thought proper  
to

to take the title of his majesty's rat-catcher in ordinary, and this succeeded beyond his expectations: when it was known that he caught rats at court, all were ready to give him countenance and employment.

GOLDSMITH.

*Citizen of the World, vol. ii. let. xciii.*

THE pitiful humiliations of the gentlemen you are now describing, puts me in mind of a custom among the Tartars of Koreki.\* The Russians who trade with them, carry thither a kind of mushrooms, which they exchange for furs of squirrels, ermins, sables, and foxes. These mushrooms the rich Tartars lay up in large quantities for the winter; and when a nobleman makes a mushroom feast, all the neighbours around are invited. The mushrooms are prepared by boiling; by which the water acquires an intoxicating quality, and is a sort of drink which the Tartars prize beyond all other. When the nobility and ladies are assembled, and the ceremonies usual between people of distinction over, the mushroom broth goes freely round; they laugh, talk double entendre, grow fuddled, and become excellent company. The poorer sort, who love mushroom broth to distraction, as well as the rich, but cannot afford it at the first hand, post themselves, on these occasions,

\* Van Stralenberg, a writer of credit, gives the same account of this people. Vid. an Hist. Geograph. description of the north-eastern parts of Europe and Asia, p. 397.

sions, round the huts of the rich, and watch the opportunities of the ladies and gentlemen, as they come down to pass their liquor; and, holding a wooden bowl, catch the delicious fluid, very little altered by filtration, being still strongly tinctured with the intoxicating quality. Of this they drink with the utmost satisfaction; and thus they get as drunk and as jovial as their betters.

Happy nobility, cries my companion, who can fear no diminution of respect, unless by being seized with a stranguary; and who when most drunk are most useful. Though we have not this custom among us, I foresee that if it were introduced, we might have many a toad-eater in England ready to drink from the wooden bowl, on these occasions, and to praise the flavour of his lordship's liquor. As we have different classes of gentry, who knows but we might see a lord holding the bowl to a minister, a knight holding it to his lordship, and a simple squire drinking it, double distilled, from the loins of knighthood. For my part, I shall never for the future hear a great man's flatterers haranguing in his praise, that I shall not fancy I behold the wooden bowl; for I can see no reason why a man, who can live easily and happily at home, should bear the drudgery of decorum, and the impertinence of his entertainer, unless intoxicated with a passion for all that was quality, unless he thought, that, whatever came from the great, was delicious, and had the tincture of the mushroom in it.

*Ib. Vol. i. let. xxxii.*

THE

THE excellency of this principle [honour] is, that the vulgar are destitute of it, and it is only to be met with in people of the better sort, as some oranges have kernels, and others not, though the outside be the same. In great families it is like the gout, generally counted hereditary, and all lords children are born with it.—A man of honour is always accounted impartial and a man of sense of course, for nobody ever heard of a man of honour that was a fool.

MANDEVILLE.

*Fable of the Bees. Remark (R)*

—WHO the devil doth not know,  
That titles and estates bestow  
An ample stock, where'er they fall,  
Of graces which we mental call?  
Beggars of every age and nation  
Are rogues and fools from situation;  
The rich and great are understood  
To be of course both wise and good.

CHURCHIL.

*The Ghost, vol. ii. p. 265.*

—IF a lord once own the happy lines  
How the wit brightens, how the sense refines:

POPE.

HE [Lord Chesterfield] is a wit among lords,  
but a lord only among wits.

JOHNSON.

*[Life, by Boswell.]*

TITLES are of no weight with posterity, and  
the name only of a man who has performed great  
exploits

exploits carries more respect than all the epithets that can be added to it.

VOLTAIRE.

*Life of Louis XIV.*

NOBILITY resideth not but in the soul, nor is there true honour except in virtue.

The favour of princes may be bought by vices ; rank and titles may be purchased for money, but these are not true honour.

Crimes cannot exalt the man who commits them, to real glory ; neither can gold make men noble.

Wouldst thou wish to be raised, for men know not what ? or wouldst thou that they should say, why is this ?

He who, meritless himself, appealeth to the actions of his ancestors for his greatness, is like the thief who claimeth protection by flying to the pagod.

What good is it to the blind that his parents could see ? what benefit is it to the dumb, that his grandfather was eloquent ? Even so, what is it to the mean, that their predecessors were noble.

A mind disposed to virtue maketh great the possessor of it ; and, without titles, it will raise him above the vulgar.

He will acquire honour while others receive it ; and will he not say unto them, such were the men whom you glory in being derived from ?

As the shadow waiteth upon the substance, even so true honour attendeth upon virtue.

Is it not better that men should say, why hath  
not

not this man a statue? than that they should ask,  
why he hath one?

*Economy of Human Life, b. iv. cb. i.*

EXAMINE not the pedigree or patrimony of a  
good man.

OLD SPANISH PROVERB.

THE only infamy should be vice.

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosopb. Dict, art. Civil Laws.*

WHAT is a *lord*? Doth that plain simple word,  
Contain some magic spell? As soon as heard,  
Like an alarum bell on night's dull ear,  
Doth it strike louder, and more strong appear  
Than other words? Whether we will or no,  
Thro' reason's court doth it unquestion'd go  
E'en on the mention, and of course transmit  
Notions of something excellent, of wit  
Pleasing, tho' keen, of humour free, tho' chaste,  
Of sterling genius with sound judgment grac'd,  
Of virtue far above temptation's reach,  
And honour, which not malice can impeach?  
Believe it not—'twas NATURE's first intent,  
Before their rank became their punishment,  
They should have pass'd for men, nor blush'd to  
prize  
The blessings she bestow'd.—She gave them eyes,  
And they could see—She gave them ears, they  
heard  
The instruments of stirring, and they stir'd—

Like

Like us they were design'd to eat, to drink,  
 To talk, and (ev'ry now and then) to think.  
 Till they, by pride corrupted, for the sake  
 Of singularity, disclaim'd that make;  
 Till they, disdaining nature's vulgar mode,  
 Flew off, and struck into another road,  
 More fitting *quality*, and to our view  
 Came forth a species altogether new,  
 Something we had not known, and could not know,  
 Like nothing of God's making here below—  
 Nature exclaim'd with wonder—*Lords are kings,*  
*Which, never made by me, were made by kings.*

A LORD (nor here let censure rashly call  
 My just contempt of some, abuse of all :)  
 A mere, mere *lord*, with nothing but the name,  
 Wealth all his worth, and title all his fame,  
 Lives on another man, himself a blank,  
 Thankless he lives, or must some grandsire thank  
 For smuggled honours, and ill-gotten pelf.

CHURCHIL.

*Independence, vol. ii. p. 294.*

You say, a long descended race,  
 And wealth, and dignity, and power, and place,  
 Make gentlemen, and that your high degree  
 Is much disparag'd to be match'd with me :  
 Know this, my lord, nobility of blood,  
 Is but a glitt'ring and fallacious good ;  
 The noblemen is he whose noble mind  
 Is fill'd with inborn worth, unborrow'd from his kind.

DRYDEN.

*Wife of Bath.*

WHERE



WHERE there's no difference in men's worth,  
Titles are jests.

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER.  
*King and no King.*

My lord comes forward ; forward let him come !  
Ye vulgar, at your peril, give him room !  
With what a decent pride he throws his eyes  
Above the man by three descents less wise !  
Let high birth triumph : what can be more  
great ?  
Nothing but merit in a low estate.  
To virtue's humblest son let none prefer  
Vice, though descended from the conqueror.  
Shall men like figures pass for high or base,  
Slight or important, only by their place ?  
They that on glorious ancestors enlarge,  
Produce their debt instead of their discharge.

YOUNG.  
*Satires, sat. 1.*

WERE I so tall to reach the pole,  
Or grasp the ocean with my span,  
I must be measur'd by my soul ;  
The mind's the standard of the man.

WATTS.  
*Lyric Poems, part ii.*

WHAT tho' no gaudy titles grac'd my birth !  
Titles, the servile courtier's lean reward !  
Sometimes the pay of virtue, but more oft  
The hire which greatness gives to slaves and syco-  
phants ;

Yet

Yet heaven, that made me honest, made me more  
Than ever king did when he made a lord.

Rowe.

*Jane Shore, act. ii.*

——— WHOE'ER amidst the sons  
Of reason, valour, liberty, and virtue,  
Displays distinguish'd merit, is a noble  
Of nature's own creating.

Thomson.

HONOUR and shame from no condition rise ;  
Act well your part, there all the honour lies.  
Fortune in men has some small difference made ;  
One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade ,  
The cobbler apron'd, and the parson gown'd,  
The friar hooded, and the monarch crown'd.  
What differ more, you cry, than crown and cowl ?  
I'll tell you, friend ; a wise man and a fool.  
Worth makes the man, and want of it the  
fellow,

The rest is all but leather or prunella.

Stuck o'er with titles and hung round with  
strings,  
That thou may'st be by kings, or whores of kings,  
Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race,  
In quiet flow from Lucrece to Lucrece :  
But by your father's worth if yours you rate,  
Count me those only who were good and great.  
Go ! if your antient, but ignoble blood  
Has crept through scoundrels ever since the  
flood,

Go

Go, and pretend your family is young;  
Nor own your fathers have been fools so long,  
What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards?  
Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.

POPE.

*Essay on Man, epist. iv.*

RICH

RICH AND POOR.

IF you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn; and if (instead of each picking where, and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted, and no more) you shall see ninety-nine of them gathering all they get into a heap; reserving nothing for themselves, but the chaff and refuse; keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest perhaps and worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round and looking on, all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about, and wasting it; and, if a pigeon more hardy or hungry than the rest, touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it, and tearing it to pieces: if you should see this, you would see nothing more, than what is every day practised and established among men. Among men you see the ninety and nine, toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one; getting nothing for themselves all the while, but a little of the coarsest of the provision, which their own labour produces; and this one oftentimes the feeblest and worst of the whole set, a child, a woman, a madman,

man, or a fool ; looking quietly on, while they see the fruits of all their labour spent or spoiled ; and if one of them take or touch a particle of it, the others join against him, and hang him for the theft.

PALEY.

*Principles of Philosophy, b. iii. ch. i.*

THE most obvious division of society is into rich and poor ; and it is no less obvious, that the number of the former bear a great disproportion to those of the latter. The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich ; and that of the rich, in return, is to find the best methods of confirming the slavery and increasing the burthens of the poor. In a state of nature it is an invariable law, that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labours. In a state of artificial society, it is a law as constant and as invariable, that those who labour most, enjoy the fewest things ; and that those who labour not at all, have the greatest number of enjoyments. A constitution of things this strange and ridiculous beyond expression. We scarce believe a thing when we are told it, which we actually see before our eyes every day without being the least surprized. I suppose that there are in Great Britain upwards of an hundred thousand people employed in lead, tin, iron, copper, and coal mines ; these unhappy wretches scarce ever see the light of the sun ; they are buried in the bowels of the earth ; there they work at a severe and dismal task,

task, without the least prospect of being delivered from it ; they subsist upon the coarsest and worst sort of fare ; they have their health miserably impaired, and their lives cut short, by being perpetually confined in the close vapour of these malignant minerals. An hundred thousand more at least are tortured without remission by the suffocating smoke, intense fires, and constant drudgery necessary in refining and managing the products of those mines. If any man informed us that two hundred thousand innocent persons were condemned to so intolerable slavery, how should we pity the unhappy sufferers, and how great would be our just indignation against those who inflicted so cruel and ignominious a punishment ? This is an instance, I could not wish a stronger, of the numberless things which we pass by in their common dress, yet which shock us when they are nakedly represented. But this number, considerable as it is, and the slavery, with all its baseness and horror, which we have at home, is nothing to what the rest of the world affords of the same nature. Millions daily bathed in the poisonous damps and destructive effluvia of lead, silver, copper, and arsenic. To say nothing of those other employments, those stations of wretchedness and contempt in which civil society has placed the numerous *enfants perdus* of her army. Would any rational man submit to one of the most tolerable of these drudgeries, for all the artificial enjoyments which policy has made to result from them ? By

no means. And yet need I suggest, that those who find the means, and those who arrive at the end, are not at all the same persons. On considering the strange and unaccountable fancies and contrivances of artificial reason, I have [i. e. Lord Bolingbroke] somewhere called this earth the Bedlam of our system. Looking now upon the effects of some of those fancies, may we not with equal reason call it likewise the Newgate and the Bridewell of the universe? Indeed the blindness of one part of mankind co-operating with the frenzy and villany of the other, has been the real builder of this respectable fabric of political society. And as the blindness of mankind has caused their slavery, in return their state of slavery is made a pretence for continuing them in a state of blindness; for the politician will tell you gravely, that their life of servitude disqualifies the greater part of the race of man for a search of truth, and supplies them with no other than mean and insufficient ideas. This is but too true; and this is one of the reasons for which I blame such institutions.

In a misery of this sort, admitting some few lenities, and those too but a few, nine parts in ten of the whole race of mankind drudge through life.

BURKE.

*Vindication of Natural Society, p. 93.*

In the most refined states of Europe the inequality of property has risen to an alarming height. Vast numbers of their inhabitants are deprived of almost

almost every accommodation that can render life tolerable or secure. Their utmost industry scarcely suffices for their support. The women and children lean with an insupportable weight upon the efforts of the man, so that a large family has in the lower order of life become a proverbial expression for an uncommon degree of poverty and wretchedness. If sickness, or some of those casualties which are perpetually incident to an active and laborious life, be super-added to these burthens, the distress is still greater.

It seems to be agreed that in England there is less wretchedness and distress than in most of the kingdoms of the continent. In England the poor's rates amount to the sum of two millions sterling per annum. It has been calculated, that one person in seven of the inhabitants of this country derives at some period of his life assistance from this fund. If to this we add the persons, who, from pride, a spirit of independence, or the want of a legal settlement, though in equal distress, receive no such assistance, the proportion will be considerably increased.

I lay no stress upon the accuracy of this calculation; the general fact is sufficient to give us an idea of the greatness of the evil.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, b. i. ch. v.*

It is impossible that a society can long subsist, and suffer many of its members to live in idleness, and enjoy all the ease and pleasure they can in-



vent, without having at the same time great multitudes of people that, to make good this defect, will condescend to be quite the reverse, and by use and patience inure their bodies to work for others and themselves besides.

Abundance of hard and dirty labour is to be done, and coarse living is to be complied with : where shall we find a better nursery for these necessities than the children of the poor ? None certainly are nearer to it, or fitter for it. Besides that, the things I call hardships neither seem nor are such to those that have been brought up to them.

As the greatest part of the drudgery is to be done by day light, so it is by this only that the poor actually measure the time of their labour without any thought of the hours they are employed, or the weariness they feel ; and the hireling in the country must get up in the morning, not because he has rested enough, but because the sun is going to rise. This last article alone would be an intolerable hardship to grown people under thirty, who during nonage had been used to lie a bed as long as they could sleep : but all these together make up such a condition of life as a man more mildly educated would hardly chuse, though it should deliver him from a gaol or a shrew.

If such people there must be, as no great nation can be happy without vast numbers of them, would not a wise legislature cultivate the breed of them

them with all imaginable care, and provide against their scarcity as he would prevent the scarcity of provision itself? No man would be poor and fatigue himself for a livelihood, if he could help it: the absolute necessity all stand in for victuals and drink, and in cold climates for clothes and lodgings, makes them submit to any thing that can be bore with. If no body did want, no body would work; but the greatest hardships are looked upon as solid pleasures when they keep a man from starving.

To make the people easy under the meanest circumstances, it is requisite, that great numbers of them should be ignorant as well as poor. Knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires, and the fewer things a man wishes for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied.

The welfare and felicity therefore of every state and kingdom require that the knowledge of the working poor should be confined within the verge of their occupations, and never extended beyond what relates to their calling.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic, are very necessary to those whose business require such qualifications; but where people's livelihood has no dependence on these arts, they are very pernicious to the poor, who are forced to get their daily bread by their daily labour.

A man who has had some education, may follow husbandry by choice, and be diligent at the dirtiest and most laborious work; but then the concern must be his own; but he won't make a  
good

good hireling, and serve a farmer for a pitiful reward : at least he is not so fit for it as a day-labourer that has always been employed about the plough and dung-cart, and remembers not that he has ever lived otherwise !!

MANDEVILLE.

*Essay on Charity Schools.*

THE slightest misfortunes of the great, the most imaginary uneasiness of the rich, are aggravated with all the power of eloquence, and held up to engage our attention and sympathetic sorrow.

The miseries of the poor are entirely disregarded, though some undergo more real hardships in one day than the great in their whole lives. These may eat, drink, and sleep ; have slaves to attend them, and are sure of subsistence for life ; while many of their fellow creatures are obliged to wander, without a friend to comfort or assist them, find enmity in every law, and are too poor to obtain even justice.

GOLDSMITH.

*Citizen of the World, Let. 117 and 119.*

THE dainties of the great are the tears of the poor.—The great put the little on the hook.

OLD ENGLISH PROVERBS.

WOE unto him that heapeth up wealth in abundance, and rejoiceth alone in the possession thereof ;

That grindeth the face of the poor, and considereth not the sweat of their brows ;

He

He thriveth on oppression without feeling : the ruin of his brother disturbeth him not.

The tears of the orphan he drinketh as milk, the cries of the widow are music to his ear.

His heart is hardened with the love of wealth ; no grief nor distress can make impression upon it.

*Economy of Human Life, part v. sect. ii.*

It is as astonishing as it is melancholy to travel through a whole country, as one may through many in Europe, gasping under endless taxes, groaning under dragoons and poverty, and all to make a wanton and luxurious court, filled for the most part with the worst and vilest of all men. Good God ! What hard-heartedness and barbarity, to starve perhaps half a province, to make a gay garden ! And yet sometimes this gross wickedness is called public spirit, because forsooth a few workmen and labourers are maintained out of the bread and blood of half a million.

GORDON.

*Cato's Letters.*

ONE day [in the neighbourhood of Lyons] having purposely gone out of my way to take a nearer view of a spot that appeared delightful, I was so charmed with it, and wandered round it so often, that at length I compleatly lost myself, and after several hours useless walking, weary, fainting with hunger and thirst, I entered a peasant's hut, which had not indeed a very promising appearance, but was the only one I could discover near

near me. I thought it was here as at Geneva, or in Switzerland, where the inhabitants, living at ease, have it in their power to exercise hospitality. I entreated the countryman to give me some dinner, offering to pay for it : on which he presented me with some skimmed milk and coarse barley bread, saying it was all he had. I drank the milk with pleasure, and eat the bread, chaff and all ; but it was little restorative to a man sinking with fatigue. The countryman, who watched me narrowly, judged the truth of my story by my appetite, and presently after (having said, that he plainly saw I was an honest, good-natured young man, and did not come to betray him) opened a little trap door by the side of his kitchen, went down, and returned a moment after with a good brown loaf of pure wheat, the remains of a well-flavoured ham, and a bottle of wine, the sight of which rejoiced my heart more than all the rest : he then prepared a good thick omelette, and I made such a dinner as none but a walking traveller ever enjoyed.

When I again offered to pay, his inquietude and fears returned ; he not only would have no money, but refused it with the most evident emotion ; and what made this scene more amusing, I could not imagine the motive of his fear. At length he pronounced, trembling, these terrible words, *Commissioners* and *Cellar-rats* : which he explained, by giving me to understand, that he concealed his wine because of the excise, and his

his bread on account of the tax imposed on it; adding, he should be undone if it was suspected he was not almost perishing with want.—What he said to me on this subject (of which I had not before the smallest idea) made an impression on my mind that can never be effaced, sowing those seeds of inextinguishable hatred, which have since grown up in my heart against the vexations these unhappy people suffer, and against their oppressors. This man, though in easy circumstances, dared not eat the bread gained by the sweat of his brow, and could only escape destruction, by exhibiting an outward appearance of misery!—I left his cottage with as much indignation as concern, deploring the fate of those beautiful countries, where Nature has been prodigal of her gifts, only that they may become the prey of barbarous exactors.

ROUSSEAU.

*Confessions, vol. i. b. iv.*

SWEET smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,  
Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;

Amidst thy bow'rs the tyrant's hand is seen,  
And desolation saddens all thy green:  
One only master grasps the whole domain,  
And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain;  
No more thy glassy brook reflects the day,  
But choak'd with sedges, works its weedy way;  
Along thy glades, a solitary guest,  
The hollow sounding bittern guards its nest;

Amidst

Amidst thy desert walks the lapwing flies,  
 And tires their echoes with unvary'd cries.  
 Sunk are thy bow'rs in shapeless ruin all,  
 And the long grass o'ertops the mould'ring wall,  
 And, trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand,  
 Far, far away thy children leave the land.

\* \* \* \* \*

— The sounds of population fail,  
 No chearful murmurs fluctuate in the gale,  
 No busy steps the grass-grown foot-way tread.  
 But all the bloomy flush of life is fled.  
 All but yon widow'd solitary thing,  
 That feebly bends besides the plashy spring ;  
 She, wretched matron, forc'd, in age, for bread,  
 To strip the brook with mant'ling cresses spread,  
 To pick her wintry faggot from the thorn,  
 To seek her nightly shed, and weep till morn,  
 She only left of all the harmless train,  
 The sad historian of the pensive plain.

\* \* \* \* \*

The man of wealth and pride,  
 Takes up a space that many poor supply'd ;  
 Space for his lake, his park's extended bounds,  
 Space for his horses, equipage and hounds.

\* \* \* \* \*

Where then, ah, where shall poverty reside,  
 To 'scape the pressure of contagious pride ?  
 If to some common's fenceless limits stray'd,  
 He drives his flock to pick the scanty blade,  
 Those fenceless fields the sons of wealth divide,  
 And e'en the bare-worn common is deny'd.

lf

If to the city sped—What waits him there?  
To see profusion that he must not share;  
To see ten thousand baneful arts combin'd  
To pamper luxury, and thin mankind;  
To see each joy the sons of pleasure know,  
Extorted from his fellow-creature's woe.  
Here while the courtier glitters in brocade,  
There the pale artist plies the sickly trade;  
Here, while the proud their long-drawn pomps  
display,  
There the black gibbet glooms beside the way.  
The dome where pleasure holds her midnight  
reign,  
Here, richly deckt, admits the gorgeous train;  
Tumultuous grandeur crowds the blazing square,  
The rattling chariots clash, the torches glare.

Ye friends to truth, ye statesman who survey  
The rich man's joys encrease, the poor's decay,  
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand  
Between a splendid and a happy land.

**GOLDSMITH.**  
*Deserted Village.*

TAKE physic, pomp ;  
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,  
That thou may'st shake the superflux to them,  
And shew the heavens more just.

SHAKESPEARE.  
*Lear, act iii.*

Ah little think the gay licentious proud,  
 Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround;  
 They



They who their thoughtless hours in giddy mirth,  
 And wanton, often cruel riot waste ;  
 Ah little think they, how many feel, this very  
     moment, death,  
 And all the sad variety of pain :  
 How many pine in want, and dungeon glooms,  
 Shut from the common air, and common use  
 Of their own limbs : how many drink the cup  
 Of Baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread  
 Of misery : sore pierc'd by wintry winds,  
 How many shrink into the sordid hut  
 Of cheerless poverty :—Thought fond man  
 Of these—  
 The conscious heart of charity would warm,  
 And her wide wish benevolence dilate ;  
 The social tear would rise, the social sigh ;  
 And into clear perfection, gradual bliss,  
 Refining still, the social passions work.

THOMSON.  
*Seasons : Winter.*

THEIR'S is yon house that holds the parish  
     poor,  
 Whose walls of mud scarce bear the broken door ;  
 There where the putrid vapours flagging play,  
 And the dull wheel hums doleful through the  
     day :  
 There children dwell who know no parents care,  
 Parents, who know no children's love, dwell there ;  
 Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,  
 Forsaken wives, and mothers never wed ;  
 Dejected widows with unheeded tears,  
                                     And

Dejected widows with unheeded tears,  
And crippled age with more than childhood fears !  
The lame, the blind, and far the happiest they !  
The moping idiot and the madman gay.

Here too the sick their final doom receive,  
Here brought, amid the scenes of grief, to grieve :  
Where the loud groans from some sad chamber  
flow

Mixt with the clamours of the crowd below,  
Here sorrowing, they each kindred sorrow scan,  
And the cold charities of man to man :  
Whose laws indeed for ruin'd age provide,  
And strong compulsion plucks the scrap from  
pride ;

But still that scrap is bought with many a sigh,  
And pride embitters what it can't deny.

Say ye, oppress'd by some fantastic woes,  
Some jarring nerve that baffles your repose ;  
Who press the downy couch, while slaves advance  
With timid eye, to read the distant glance ;  
Who with sad prayers the weary doctor tease,  
To name the nameless ever-new disease ;  
Who with mock patience dire complaints endure,  
Which real pain and that alone can cure ;  
How would ye bear in real pain to lie,  
Despis'd, neglected, left alone to die ?  
How would ye bear to draw your latest breath,  
Where all that's wretched paves the way for death ?

Such is that room which one rude beam divides,  
And naked rafters form the sloping sides ;  
Where the vile bands that bind the thatch are seen,  
And lath and mud are all that lie between ;

Save one dull pane, that, coarsely patch'd, gives  
way

To the rude tempest, yet excludes the day :  
Here, on a matted flock, with dust o'erspread,  
The drooping wretch reclines his languid head ;  
For him no hand the cordial cup applies,  
Nor wipes the tear that stagnates in his eyes ;  
No friends with soft discourse his pain beguile,  
Nor promise hope till sickness wears a smile.

CRABBE.

*The Village*

The village wretch, who, in the midst of  
the winter's cold, and stormy weather,  
is seen reclining on a matted flock,  
with dust o'erspread, his languid head  
drooping, and his eyes stagnating  
in tears, is a sight that fills the  
heart with pity. The wretch is  
alone, and no hand applies the  
cordial cup, nor wipes the tear  
that stagnates in his eyes. No  
friends come to beguile his pain  
with soft discourse, nor promise  
hope till sickness wears a smile.

The poor wretch, who, in the midst of  
the winter's cold, and stormy weather,  
is seen reclining on a matted flock,  
with dust o'erspread, his languid head  
drooping, and his eyes stagnating  
in tears, is a sight that fills the  
heart with pity. The wretch is  
alone, and no hand applies the  
cordial cup, nor wipes the tear  
that stagnates in his eyes. No  
friends come to beguile his pain  
with soft discourse, nor promise  
hope till sickness wears a smile.

ORIGIN

## ORIGIN OF EVIL.

THE first person, who, having inclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying, *This is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, battles, and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes would not that man have saved mankind, who should have pulled up the stakes, or filled up the ditch, crying out to his fellows, "Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and that the earth belongs to nobody."

ROUSSEAU.

*Inegalite des Hommes, part ii.*

THE poets, whom Plato would have excluded from his republic, appear to have understood better than the majority of philosophers and legislators, the origin, operation, and progress of the sentiments of the human heart. They have styled the golden age that happy period when individual property was unknown; sensible that the distinction

of *mine* and *thine* had been the parent of every vice.

ABBE DE MABLY.

*De la Legislation, liv. i. ch. iii.*

It is evident that the first offence must have been his who began a monopoly.—

The fruitful source of crimes consists in one man's possessing in abundance that of which another man is destitute.—

The spirit of oppression, the spirit of servility, and the spirit of fraud, are the immediate growth of the established system of property. The other vices of envy, malice, and revenge, are their inseparable companions. In a state of society where men lived in the midst of plenty, and where all shared alike the bounties of nature, these sentiments would inevitably expire.—

Property brings home a servile and truckling spirit, by no circuitous method, to every house in the nation. Observe the pauper fawning with abject vileness upon his rich benefactor, and speechless with sensations of gratitude for having received that which he ought to have claimed with an erect mien, and with a consciousness that his claim was irresistible. Observe the servants that follow in a rich man's train, watchful of his looks, anticipating his commands, not daring to reply to his insolence, all their time and their efforts under the direction of his caprice. Observe the tradesman, how he studies the passions of his customers, not to correct but to pamper them; the vileness of

his flattery, and the systematic constancy with which he exaggerates the merit of his commodities.—

Ambition is of all the passions of the human mind the most extensive in its ravages. It adds district to district, and kingdom to kingdom. It spreads bloodshed and calamity and conquest over the face of the earth. But the passion itself, as well as the means of gratifying it, is the produce of the prevailing system of property. It is only by means of accumulation that one man obtains an unresisted sway over multitudes of others. It is by means of a certain distribution of income that the present governments of the world are retained in existence. Nothing more easy than to plunge nations so organized into war. It is clear that war in every horrid form is the growth of property.—It is property that forms men into one common mass, and makes them fit to be played upon like a brute machine.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, b. viii. ch. ii.*

How comes it that so many are infected with the pestilence of wickedness? It is that they who bear rule over them, having caught the distemper, communicate it to others. By the first ambitious man was the world corrupted.

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosoph, Dict.*

My master was yet wholly at a loss to understand what motives could excite this race of lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves

and engage in a confederacy of injustice, merely for the sake of injuring their fellow animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying, they did it for *hire*. Whereupon I was at much pains to describe to him the use of money, the materials it was made of, and value of the metals, that when a [man] had got a great store of this precious substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to, the finest clothing, the noblest houses, great tracts of land, the most costly meats and drinks; and have his choice of the most beautiful females. Therefore since money alone was able to perform all these feats, our [people] thought they could never have enough of it to spend, or to save, as they found themselves inclined from their natural bent either to profusion or avarice. That the rich men enjoyed the fruit of the poor man's labour, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former. That the bulk of our people were forced to live miserably, by labouring every day for small wages, to make a few live plentifully. I enlarged much on these and many other particulars to the same purpose: but his honour was still to seek; for he went upon a supposition, that all animals had a title to their share in the productions of the earth, and especially those who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know what these costly meats were, and how any of us happened to want them. Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my head, with the various methods  
of

of dressing them, which could not be done without sending vessels by sea to every part of the world, as well for liquors to drink as for sauces, and innumerable other conveniencies. I assured him that this whole globe of earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better females could get her breakfast or a cup to put it in. He said, that must needs be a miserable country which cannot furnish food for its own inhabitants. But what he chiefly wondered at was, how such vast tracts of ground, as I described, should be wholly without fresh water, and people put to the necessity of sending over the sea for drink. I replied, that England (the dear place of my nativity) was computed to produce three times the quantity of food more than its inhabitants are able to consume, as well as liquors extracted from grain, or pressed out of the fruit of certain trees, which made excellent drink; and the same proportion in every other convenience of life. But in order to feed the luxury and intemperance of the males, and the vanity of the females, we sent away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, from whence in return we brought the materials of diseases, folly, and vice, to spend among ourselves. Hence it follows of necessity, that vast numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, stealing, cheating, pimping, flattering, suborning, forswearing, forging, gaming, lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, scribbling, star-gazing, poisoning, whoring, canting, libelling,



free-thinking, and the like occupations : every one  
of which terms I was at much pains to make him  
understand.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iv. ch. vi.*

WHAT'S here ?

Gold ? yellow, glittering, precious gold ?

Thus much of this will make black white ; foul,  
fair ;

Wrong, right ; base, noble ; old, young ; coward,  
valiant :

Will lug your priests and servants from your sides ;  
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads ;  
This yellow slave

Will knit and break religions, bless the accurst ;

Make the hoar leprosy ador'd ; place thieves,

And give 'em title, sense and approbation,

With senators on the bench : this, this is it

That makes the wappen'd widow wed again ;

She whom the spital house and ulcerous sores

Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and spices

To the April day again. Come, damn'd earth,

Thou common whore of mankind, that put'st odds

Among the rout of nations, I will make thee

Do thy nature right.

\* \* \* \* \*

O thou sweet king-killer, and dear divorce

'Twixt natural son and sire ! thou bright defiler

Of H ymen's purest bed ! thou valiant Mars !

Thou ever young, fresh, lov'd, and delicate wooer,

Whose blush doth thaw the consecrated snow

That

That lies on Dian's lap ! thou visible god  
 That solderest close impossibilities,  
 And mak'st them kiss ; that speak'st with every  
     tongue  
 To every purpose ! O thou touch of hearts.  
 Think, thy slave man rebels ; and by thy  
     virtue  
 Set them into confounding odds, that beasts  
 May have the world in empire.

SHAKESPEAR.

*Timon of Athens, act IV.*

THERE is thy gold ; worse poison to men's  
     souls,  
 Doing more murders in this loathsome world,  
 Than these poor compounds that thou may'st not  
     sell :  
 I sell thee poison, thou hast sold me none.

IDEM.

*Romeo and Juliet, act V.*

MILITARY

## MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

**WHAT** mortal that had never seen a soldier, could look without laughing, upon a man accoutred with so much paltry gaudiness and affected finery? The coarsest manufacture that can be made of wool, dyed of a brick-dust colour, goes down with him, because it is in imitation of scarlet or crimson cloth; and to make him think himself as like his officer as 'tis possible, with little or no cost, instead of silver or gold lace, his hat is trimmed with white or yellow worsted, which in others would deserve Bedlam; yet these fine allurements, and the noise made upon a calf's skin, have drawn in, and been the destruction of more men in reality, than all the bewitching voices of women ever slew in jest. To-day the swine-herd puts on his red coat, and believes every body in earnest that calls him gentleman, and two days after serjeant Kite gives him a swinging rap with his cane, for holding his musket an inch higher than he should do. As to the real dignity of the employment, in the two last wars, officers, when recruits

recruits were wanted, were allowed to list fellows convicted of burglary and other capital crimes, which shews, that to be made a soldier is deemed to be a preferment next to hanging. A trooper is yet worse than a foot soldier, for when he is most at ease, he has the mortification of being groom to a horse that spends more money than himself. When a man reflects on all this, the usage they generally receive from their officers, their pay, and the care that is taken of them, when they are not wanted, must he not wonder how wretches can be so silly as to be proud of being called gentlemen soldiers?

MANDEVILLE.

*Fable of the Bees: Remark (K)*

WHEN the young rustic is brought to the regiment, he is at first treated with a degree of gentleness; he is instructed by words only how to walk, and to hold up his head, and to carry his firelock, and he is not punished, though he should not succeed in his earliest attempts: they allow his natural awkwardness and timidity to wear off by degrees:—they seem cautious of confounding him at the beginning, or driving him to despair, and take care not to pour all the terrors of their discipline upon his astonished senses at once. When he has been a little familiarised to his new state, he is taught the exercise of the firelock, first alone, and afterwards with two or three of his companions. This is not entrusted to a corporal or sergeant; it is the duty of a subaltern officer. In the

the park at Berlin, every morning may be seen the lieutenants of the different regiments exercising, with the greatest assiduity, sometimes a single man, at other times three or four together; and now, if the young recruit shows neglect or remissness, his attention is roused by the officer's cane, which is applied with augmenting energy, till he has acquired the full command of his firelock. He is taught steadiness under arms and the immobility of a statue:—he is informed, that all his members are to move only at the word of command, and not at his own pleasure;—that speaking, coughing, sneezing, are all unpardonable crimes; and when the poor lad is accomplished to their mind, they give him to understand, that now it is perfectly known what he can do, and therefore the smallest deficiency will be punished with rigour. And although he should destine every moment of his time, and all his attention, to cleaning his arms, taking care of his clothes, and practising the manual exercise, it is but barely possible for him to escape punishment; and if his captain happens to be of a capricious or cruel disposition, the ill-fated soldier loses the poor chance of that possibility.—

The leading idea of the Prussian discipline is to reduce the common men, in many respects, to the nature of machines; that they may have no volition of their own, but be actuated solely by that of their officers; that they may have such a superlative dread of those officers as annihilates all  
fear

fear of the enemy; that they may move forwards when ordered, without deeper reasoning or more concern than the firelocks they carry along with them.

Considering the length to which this system is carried, it were to be wished that it could be carried still farther, and that those unhappy men, while they retained the faculties of hearing and obeying orders, could be deprived of every other kind of feeling.—

Walking one morning in the park, we saw a poor fellow smartly caned, for no other reason, but because he did not return the ramrod into his piece with so much celerity as the rest of the platoon. I turned away with indignation from the sight, which my companion observing, said, you think the punishment too severe for the crime?—There was no crime, said I: the ram-rod slipped through his fingers by accident, and it is not possible to imagine, that the man had any intention to perform this important motion less rapidly than his comrades. Every thing must be considered as of importance by a soldier, replied my Prussian acquaintance, which his officer orders him to do. In all probability, the fault was involuntary; but it is not always possible to distinguish involuntary faults from those that happen through negligence. To prevent any man from hoping that his negligence will be forgiven as involuntary, all blunders are punished, from whatever cause they happen; the consequence of which is, that every  
man

man is more attentive and alert than he would otherwise be. I remember, added he, that it was very usual on field-days for the dragoons to have their hats blown off. Nobody suspected that they had bribed the wind to play this trick; yet a general officer being put out of humour by the frequency of the accident, gave orders to punish every man to whom it should happen; and since that order was put in force, the hats have been much seldomer blown off.

I then mentioned a fact that appeared to me still more extraordinary. A hussar, at the last review, had fallen from his horse at full gallop, and was so much bruised, that it was found necessary to carry him to the hospital; and I had been assured, that as soon as the man should be perfectly recovered, he would certainly be punished for having fallen. Now, continued I, though a man may be a little careless about his hat, it cannot be imagined, that this hussar was not seriously inclined to keep his seat; for by falling he might have broke his neck, or have been trod to death: or even if you chuse to suppose, that he did not ride with all the attention he ought, yet, as he received one severe punishment by the fall, it would be cruel to inflict another.—I have nothing to oppose to the solidity of your argument, replied the Prussian, but that general Seidlitz, who was the best officer of cavalry in the world, first introduced

this

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this piece of cruelty, since which it is certain, that the men have not fallen so often.

MOORE.

*View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. ii.*

You must drink the king of Bulgaria's health, said the soldiers; he is the best of kings. Most willingly, replied Candide, and drank. That's enough, said they, you are a brave fellow, you are become his support, his defender, one of the heroes of Bulgaria; your fortune is made, you are certain of glory. They then put handcuffs on his wrists, and conducted him to the regiment. There they made him turn to the right, wheel to the left, shoulder his musquet, rest upon his arms, present, fire, march, and countermarch: in return for which the drill-serjeant gave him thirty strokes with a cane. The next day he performed his exercise better, and he received only twenty. On the morrow they gave him but ten, and all his comrades regarded him as a prodigy of genius.

The astonished Candide could not conceive by what enchantment he had become an hero. One pleasant morning in spring, when the birds were singing and the trees beginning to bloom, he thought proper to take a walk. Proceeding straight forwards, and supposing it was the privilege of the human species, like other animals, to make use of their legs, he had not gone above two leagues, before four other heroes, each of six feet high, overtook him, bound him, and threw him



him into a dungeon. He was juridically asked, whether he preferred being thirty-six times flogged through the regiment, or to suffer twelve balls to pass through his brain? In vain did he assert the freedom of the will, and affirm that he preferred neither the one nor the other; he was obliged to make a choice; and in virtue of that gift of God which is called liberty, he concluded in favour of flogging. He was twice brought to the halberds, where he each time received five hundred lashes, which flayed him from the hips to the nape of the neck, and laid the muscles and nerves all bare. As they were proceeding to the third course, Candide, unable to endure more, requested for God's sake, that they would have the goodness to blow out his brains. His petition was favourably received; but as he was kneeling blindfold, the king of the Bulgarians happening to come to the parade, enquired concerning his crime. As this king was a man of great genius, he comprehended, from the story told him, that Candide was a young metaphysician, ignorant of the world, and he granted his pardon; a clemency which has been and will be recorded in every newspaper, every history, and every age. A skilful surgeon in three weeks cured Candide by use of the emollients which Dioscorides prescribes. The skin again began to cover his back, and he was able to walk, when the king of the Bulgarians gave battle to the king of the Abarians.

Nothing

Nothing could be so charming, so dazzling, so well disciplined, so well appointed as the two armies. The trumpets, drums, hautboys, fifes, and cannon, formed a concert of such harmony as hell itself never equalled. To begin, the artillery laid low about six thousand men on each side. The musquetry next dispatched between nine and ten thousand; and the bayonet, in its turn, was the adequate cause of the death of as many more. The whole amount was at least thirty thousand souls. Candide, who trembled like a philosopher, hid himself as well as he could during this heroic butchery. At length while the two kings ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in their two camps, he thought proper to depart, and reason elsewhere of causes and effects. He passed over mountains of the dying and the dead. The first village he came to belonged to the Abarians: it was reeking with smoke, having been burnt by the Bulgarians, according to the law of nations. Here stood old men maimed by the enemy, gazing on their murdered wives with their dead children extended on their bleeding bosoms. There lay virgins, giving up the ghost, with their wombs ripped open, after having appeased the natural appetites of certain heroes. Others, half roasted, called aloud for some one to come and dispatch them entirely. Here the brains of men were scattered, here their arms, here their legs, and here their mangled trunks. Candide fled with all his might to another village, that belonged to the Bulgarians,

Bulgarians, which the heroes of Abaria had treated in much the same manner. At length, marching over limbs still trembling, hearts still palpitating, and fires yet unextinguished, he luckily escaped from the theatre of war and glory.

VOLTAIRE.

*Candide, cb. ii. and iii.*

Was it Mackay's regiment, quoth my uncle Toby, where the poor grenadier was so unmercifully whipped at Bruges about the ducats?—O Christ! he was innocent! cried Trim, with a deep sigh—And he was whipped, may it please your honour, almost to death's door.—They had better have shot him outright, as he begged, and he had gone directly to heaven, for he was as innocent as your honour.—I thank thee, Trim, quoth my uncle Toby.—I never think of his, continued Trim, and my poor brother Tom's misfortunes, for we were all three school-fellows, but I cry like a coward.—Tears are no proof of cowardice, Trim; I drop them oftentimes myself, cried my uncle Toby—I know your honour does, replied Trim, and so am not ashamed of it myself—But to think, may it please your honour, continued Trim,—a tear stealing into a corner of his eye as he spoke—to think of two virtuous lads, with hearts as warm in their bodies, and as honest as God could make them—the children of honest people, going forth with gallant spirits to seek their fortunes in the world—and fall into such evils! Poor Tom! to be tortured upon a rack  
for

for nothing—but marrying a Jew's widow who sold sausages—honest dick Johnson's soul to be scourged out of his body, for the ducats another man put in his knapsack!—O!—these are misfortunes, cried Trim, pulling out his handkerchief,—these are misfortunes,—may it please your honour, worth lying down and crying over.

STERNE,

*Tristram Shandy, vol. ii. ch. xxxix.*

## FEATURES OF WAR.

IT has for some time been a generally received opinion, that a military man is not to enquire whether a war be just or unjust; he is to execute his orders. All princes who are disposed to become tyrants must probably approve of this method, and be willing to establish it. But is it not a dangerous one? Since, on that principle, if the tyrant commands his army to attack and destroy, not only an unoffending neighbour nation, but even his own subjects, the army is bound to obey.

FRANKLIN.

*Works. Essays, p. 175.*

I HAVE never us'd  
My soldiers to demand a reason of my actions.

DRYDEN.

*All for Love, act iii.*

MANY are of opinion, (and there is reason for the opinion) that no two things can be more incongruous and dissimilar than a civil and a military life. A civil habit is considered as improper and cumbersome by him who would be ready for  
the

the execution of every sort of violence. Civil habits are soft and effeminate: and for a man whose business it is to look big, and hector and fright the whole world, it would scarcely be consistent to behave with the usual gentleness and complacency of other men.

MACHIAVEL.

*Art of War: Preface.*

THROUGH fraud in all other actions be abominable, in matters of war it is laudable and glorious.

IDEM.

*Discourses, b. iii. ch. xl.*

HE who makes war his profession cannot be otherwise than vicious.

War makes thieves, and peace brings them to the gallows.

IDEM.

*Art of War, b. i. ch. ii.*

WAR suspends the rules of moral obligation, and what is long suspended is in danger of being totally abrogated.

BURKE.

*Letter to Sheriffs of Bristol, p. 22.*

WHEN war begins hell gates are set open.

OLD ITALIAN PROVERB.

PUT together all the vices of all ages and places, and never will they come up to the mischiefs and enormities of only one campaign.

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosopb. Dict. Art. War.*

WAR is death's feast.

OLD SPANISH PROVERB.

*Charles.* Pray, dear papa, let us have a very pretty story.

*Father.* With all my heart—what shall it be?

*Ch.* A bloody murder, papa!

*Fa.* A bloody murder! Well then—*Once upon a time, some men dressed all alike . . . .*

*Ch.* With black crapes over their faces?

*Fa.* No; they had steel caps on:—*having crossed a dark heath, wound cautiously along the skirts of a deep forest . . . .*

*Ch.* They were ill-looking fellows, I dare say.

*Fa.* I cannot say so; on the contrary they were tall, personable men as most one shall see:—*leaving on their right hand an old ruined tower on the hill . . . .*

*Ch.* At midnight, just as the clock struck twelve; was it not, papa?

*Fa.* No, really; it was on a fine balmy summer's morning:—*and moved forwards, one behind another . . . .*

*Ch.* As still as death, creeping along under the hedges?

*Fa.* On the contrary, they walked remarkably upright; and so far from endeavouring to be hushed and still they made a loud noise as they came along, with several sorts of instruments.

*Ch.* But, papa, they would be found out immediately.

*Fa.* They

*Fa.* They did not seem to wish to conceal themselves : on the contrary, they gloried in what they were about—they moved forwards, I say, to a large plain, where stood a pretty village, which they set on fire . . . .

*Cb.* Set a village on fire ? wicked wretches !

*Fa.* And while it was burning, they murdered twenty thousand men.

*Cb.* O fie ! papa ! you do not intend I should believe this ! I thought all along you were making up a tale, as you often do ; but you shall not catch me this time. What ! they lay still, I suppose, and let these fellows cut their throats !

*Fa.* No, truly—they resisted as long as they could.

*Cb.* How should these men kill twenty thousand people, pray ?

*Fa.* Why not ? the murderers were thirty thousand.

*Cb.* O, now I have found you out ! you mean a BATTLE.

*Fa.* Indeed I do. I do not know of any murders half so bloody.

BARBAULD AND AIKIN.

*Evenings at Home, vol. i.*

A SOLDIER is a being hired to kill in cold blood as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iv. ch. iv.*



For love of all the Gods  
 Let's leave the hermit pity with our mothers ;  
 And when we have our armour buckl'd on,  
 The venom'd vengeance ride upon our sword.

SHAKESPEAR.

*Troilus and Cressida, act iv.*

WHEN the blast of war blows in our ears  
 Then imitate the action of the tyger ;—  
 Stiffen the sinews, summon up the blood,  
 Disguise fair nature with hard-favour'd rage :  
 Then lend the eye a terrible aspect,  
 Let it pry through the portage of the head  
 Like the brass cannon ; let the brow o'erwhelm it,  
 As fearfully as doth a galled rock  
 O'erhang and jutty his confounded base,  
 Swill'd with the wild and wasteful ocean.  
 Now set the teeth, and stretch the nostril wide,  
 Hold hard the breath, and bend up every spirit  
 To his full height.

IDEM.

*Henry V. act iii.*

—————Let not thy sword skip one.  
 Pity not honour'd age for his white beard ;  
 —————Let not the virgin's cheek  
 Make soft thy trenchant sword ;  
 Spare not the babe,  
 Whose dimpl'd smiles from fools exhaust their  
 mercy ;  
 Think it a bastard, whom the oracle  
 Hath doubtfully pronounc'd thy throat shall cut,  
 And mince it sans remorse : swear against objects,  
 Put

Put armour on thine ears, and on thine eyes ;  
Whose proof, nor yells of mothers, maids, nor  
babes,  
Nor sight of priests in holy vestments bleeding,  
Shall pierce-a jot. There's gold to pay thy soldiers :  
Make large confusion.

\* \* \* \* \*

Follow thy drum ;  
With man's blood paint the ground, gules, total  
gules :  
Religious canons, civil laws are cruel ;  
Then what should war be ?

IDEM.

*Timon of Athens, act iv.*

EVILS

## EVILS OF WAR.

WAR is the most dreadful of all evils by which heaven has afflicted man.

FENELON.

*Telemachus, liv. xi.*

WAR never fails to exhaust the state, and endanger its destruction, with whatever success it is carried on. Though it may be commenced with advantage, it can never be finished without danger of the most fatal reverse of fortune. With whatever superiority of strength an engagement is begun, the least mistake, the slightest accident, may turn the scale and give victory to the enemy. Nor can a nation that should be always victorious prosper : it would destroy itself by destroying others : the country would be depopulated, the soil untilled, and trade interrupted : and what is worse, the best laws would lose their force, and a corruption of manners insensibly take place. Literature will be neglected among the youth ; the troops, conscious of their own importance, will indulge themselves in the most pernicious licentiousness with impunity,

impunity, and the disorder will necessarily spread through all the branches of government.

IDEM.

*Liv. xiv.*

FAMINE, the plague, and war, are the three most famous ingredients in this lower world. Under famine may be classed all the noxious foods which want obliges us to have recourse to, thus shortening our life while we hope to support it. In the plague are included all contagious distempers, and there are not less than two or three thousand.

These two gifts we hold from Providence ; but war, in which they are concentrated, we owe to the fancy of three or four hundred persons scattered over the surface of the globe, under the name of *princes and ministers* ; and on this account it may be that in several dedications they are called *living images of the deity*.

The most hardened flatterers will allow, that war is ever attended with plague and famine, especially if he has seen the military hospitals in Germany, or passed through some villages where some notable feat of arms has been performed.

It is unquestionably a very notable art to ravage countries, destroy dwellings, and one year with another, out of a hundred thousand men to cut off forty thousand. This invention was originally cultivated by nations assembled for their common good. It is otherwise in our time.

An odd circumstance in this infernal enterprize is, that every chief of these ruffians has his colours  
con-

consecrated, and solemnly prays to God before he goes to destroy his neighbour. If the slain in a battle do not exceed two or three thousand, the fortunate commander does not think it worth thanking God for; but if, besides killing ten or twelve thousand men, he has been so far favoured by heaven as totally to destroy some remarkable place, then a verbose hymn is sung in four parts, composed in a language unknown to all the combatants.

All countries pay a certain number of orators to celebrate these sanguinary actions, some in a long black coat, and over it a short docked cloak; others in a gown with a kind of shirt over it.— They are all very long winded in their harangues, and to illustrate a battle fought in Wateravia, bring up what passed thousands of years ago in Palestine.

At other times these gentry declaim against vice: they prove by syllogisms and antitheses, that ladies, for slightly heightening the hue of their cheeks with a little carmine, will assuredly be the eternal objects of eternal vengeance; that Polyeucte and Athalia\* are the devil's works; that he whose table on a day of abstinence is loaded with fish to the amount of two hundred crowns, is infallibly saved; and that a poor man, for eating two penny worth of mutton, goes to the devil for ever and ever.

Among

\* Two French Tragedies.

Among five or six thousand such declamations, there may be, and that is the most, three or four written by a Gaul, named Massillon, which a gentleman may bear to read, but in not one of all these discourses has the author the spirit to animadvert on war, that scourge and crime which includes all others. These groveling speakers are continually prating against love, mankind's only solace, and the only way of repairing its losses; not a word do they say of the detestable endeavours of the mighty for its destruction.

BOURDALOUE! a very bad sermon hast thou made against impurity, but not one, either bad or good, on those various kinds of murders, those robberies, those violences, that universal rage, by which the world is laid waste.

Ye bungling soul physicians! to bellow for an hour and more against a few flea bites, and not say a word about that horrid distemper which tears us to pieces. Burn your books, ye moralizing philosophers! While the humour of a few shall make it an act of loyalty to butcher thousands of our fellow creatures, the part of mankind dedicated to heroism will be the most execrable and destructive monsters in all nature. Of what avail is humanity, benevolence, modesty, temperance, mildness, discretion, and piety, when half a pound of lead, discharged at the distance of six hundred paces, shatters my body? When I expire at the age of twenty, under pains unspeakable, and amidst thousands in the same miserable condition; when my eyes

eyes at their last opening see my native town all in a blaze; and the last sounds I hear are the shrieks and groans of women expiring among the ruins, and all for the pretended *interest* of a man who is a stranger to us?

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosopb. Dict. art. War.*

I WISH those who have sufficient knowledge for the purpose, were willing or bold enough to oblige us with a detail of the villanies committed in armies by the contractors for subsistence and hospitals. We should then see that their monstrous frauds, already too well known, are the occasion of greater destruction among the soldiers, than the sword of the enemy, and that to such a degree as to make whole armies vanish as it were instantaneously from the face of the earth.

ROUSSEAU.

*Inégalité des Hommes, Note (6)*

As war is the last of remedies, *cuncta prius tentanda*, all lawful expedients must be used to avoid it. As war is the extremity of evil, it is surely the duty of those whose station entrusts them with the care of nations, to avert it from their charge. There are diseases of animal nature which nothing but amputation can remove; so there may, by the depravation of human passions, be sometimes a gangrene in collective life for which fire and the sword are the necessary remedies; but in what can skill or caution be better shown than preventing such  
dreadful

dreadful operations, while there is yet room for gentler methods?

It is wonderful with what coolness and indifference the greater part of mankind see war commenced. Those that hear of it at a distance, or read of it in books, but have never presented its evils to their minds, consider it as little more than a splendid game, a proclamation, an army, a battle, and a triumph. Some indeed must perish in the most successful field, but they die upon the bed of honour, *resign their lives amidst the joys of conquest, and, filled with England's glory, smile in death.*

The life of a modern soldier is ill represented by heroic fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with France and Spain, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless, and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and were at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommensurable encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless, and enterprize impracticable, fleets are silently depopled, and armies sluggishly melted away.

Thus is a people gradually exhausted, for the most part with little effect. The wars of civilized nations



nations make very slow changes in the system of empire. The public perceive scarcely any alteration but an increase of debt ; and the few individuals who are benefitted, are not supposed to have the clearest right to their advantages. If he that shared the danger enjoyed the profit, and after bleeding in the battle grew rich by the victory, he might shew his gains without envy. But at the conclusion of a ten years war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes and the expence of millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors, and whose palaces rise like exhalations.

These are the men who, without virtue, labour, or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoverished ; they rejoice when obstinacy or ambition adds another year to slaughter and devastation ; and laugh from their desks at bravery and science, while they are adding figure to figure, and cypher to cypher, hoping for a new contract from a new armament, and computing the profits of a siege or tempest.

JOHNSON.

*Faulkland Islands.*

GOOD news ! great news ! glorious news ! cried young Oswald, as he entered his father's house. We have got a complete victory and killed I don't know how many of the enemy ; and we are to have bonfires and illuminations !

And

And so, said his father, you think that killing a great many thousands of human creatures is a thing to be very glad about ?

*Oswald.* No—I do not quite think so, neither ; but surely it is right to be glad that our country has gained a great advantage.

*Father.* No doubt, it is right to wish well to our own country, as far as its prosperity can be promoted without injuring the rest of mankind. But wars are very seldom to the real advantage of any nation ; and when they are ever so useful or necessary, so many dreadful evils attend them, that a humane man will scarce rejoice in them, if he considers at all on the subject.

*Oswald.* But if our enemies would do us a great deal of mischief, and we prevent it by beating them, have not we a right to be glad of it ?

*Father.* Alas ! we are in general very little judges which of the parties has the most mischievous intentions. Commonly they are both in the wrong, and success will make both of them unjust and unreasonable. But putting that out of the question, he who rejoices in the event of a battle, rejoices in the misery of many thousands of his species, and the thought of that should make him pause a little. Suppose a surgeon were to come with a smiling countenance, and tell us triumphantly that he had cut off half a dozen legs to-day—what would you think of him ?

*Oswald.* I should think him very hard hearted.

x

*Father.*

*Father.* And yet these operations are done for the benefit of the sufferers, and by their own desire. But in a battle the probability is, that none of those engaged on either side have any interest at all in the cause they are fighting for, and most of them come there because they cannot help it. In this battle that you are so rejoiced about, there have been ten thousand men killed upon the spot, and nearly as many wounded.

*Oswald.* On both sides ?

*Father.* Yes—but they are *men* on both sides. Consider now, that the ten thousand sent out of the world in this morning's work, though they are past feeling themselves, have left probably two persons each on an average to lament their loss, either parents, wives, or children. Here are then twenty thousand people made unhappy at one stroke on their account. This however is hardly so dreadful to think of as the condition of the wounded. At the moment we are talking, eight or ten thousand more are lying in agony, torn with shot, or gashed with cuts, their wounds all festering, some hourly to die a most excruciating death, others to linger in torture weeks and months, and many doomed to drag on a miserable existence for the rest of their lives, with diseased and mutilated bodies.

*Oswald.* This is shocking to think of, indeed !

*Father.* When you light your candles, then, this evening, *think what they cost.*

*Oswald.*

*Oswald.* But every body else is glad, and seem to think nothing of these things.

*Father.* True they do *not* think of them. Is they did, I cannot suppose they would be so void of feeling as to enjoy themselves in merriment when so many of their fellow creatures are made miserable. Do you not remember when poor Dickens had his leg broken by a loaded waggon, how all the town pitied him?

*Oswald.* Yes, very well. I could not sleep the night after for thinking of him.

*Father.* But here are thousands suffering a much as he, and we scarce bestow a single thought upon them. If every one of these poor creatures were before our eyes, we should probably feel much more than we now do for all together. Shall I tell you a story of a soldier's fortune?

*Oswald.* Yes—pray do!

BARBAULD AND AIKIN.

*Evenings at Home, vol. iv.*

YOUR honour remembers with concern, said the corporal, the total route and confusion of our camp and the army, at the affair of Lauden; every one was left to shift for himself; and if it had not been for the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, which covered the retreat over the bridge of Neerspeken, the king himself could scarce have gained it—he was pressed hard, as your honour knows, on every side of him.

Gallant mortal ! cried my uncle Toby, caught up with enthusiasm — this moment, now that all is lost, I see him galloping across me, corporal, to the left, to bring up the remains of the English horse along with him to support the right, and tear the laurel from Luxembourg's brow, if yet 'tis possible—I see him with the knot of his scarf, just shot off, infusing fresh spirits into poor Galway's regiment—riding along the line—then wheeling about, and charging Conti at the head of it—Brave ! brave, by heaven ! cried my uncle Toby, he deserves a crown—as richly as a thief a halter, shouted Trim.

As the number of wounded was prodigious, and no one had time to think of any thing but his own safety—I was left upon the field, said the corporal.—Thou wast so, poor fellow ! replied my uncle Toby—So that it was noon the next day, continued the corporal, before I was exchanged, and put into a cart with thirteen or fourteen more, in order to be conveyed to our hospital.—The anguish of my knee, continued the corporal, was excessive in itself, and the uneasiness of the cart, with the roughness of the roads, which were terribly cut up—making bad still worse—every step was death to me : so that with the loss of blood, and the want of care-taking of me, and a fever I felt coming on besides—'poor soul ! said my uncle Toby) all together, a'nt please your honour, was more than I could sustain.

I was

I was telling my sufferings to a young woman at a peasant's house, where our cart, which was the last of the line, had halted ; they had helped me in, and the young woman had taken a cordial out of her pocket, and dropped it upon some sugar, and seeing it had cheered me, she had given it me a second and a third time.—So I was telling her, an't please your honour, the anguish I was in, and was saying it was so intolerable to me, that I had much rather lie down upon the bed, turning my face towards one which was in the corner of the room—and die, than go on—when upon her attempting to lead me to it, I fainted away in her arms.

STERNE.

*Tristram Shandy, vol. i. ch.*

WHILE the mother of our hero wearied heaven with prayers that Europe might speedily be involved in a general war, the flame broke out between the houses of Ottoman and Austria, and the Emperor sent forth an army into Hungary, under the auspices of the renowned Eugene. She cheerfully followed to the field, where she had not continued many weeks, when she was an eye-witness of that famous victory which, with sixty thousand men, the imperial general obtained over an army of an hundred and fifty thousand Turks. She was a perfect mistress of all the camp qualifications, and thought it a duty incumbent on her to contribute all that lay in her power towards distressing the enemy. With these sentiments she hovered about the skirts of the army, and the troops were no

sooner employed in the pursuit, than she began to traverse the field of battle, with a poignard and a bag, in order to consult her own interest, annoy the foe, and exercise her *humanity* at the same time. In short, she had, with amazing prowess, delivered some fifty or three-score disabled Mussulmen of the pain under which they groaned, and made a considerable booty of the spoils of the slain, when her eyes were attracted by the rich attire of an imperial officer, who lay bleeding on the plain, to all appearance in the agonies of death. She could not in her heart refuse that favour to a friend and a Christian, she had so compassionately bestowed upon so many enemies and infidels, and therefore drew near with the sovereign remedy which she had already administered with such success.—

It would have been happy for her had she been contented with these first fruits, reaped from the fortune of the day, and retired with her spoils, which were not inconsiderable; but intoxicated with the glory she had won, enticed by the glittering caparisons that lay scattered on the plain, and, without doubt, prompted by the secret instinct of her fate, she resolved to seize opportunity by the forelock, and once for all indemnify herself for the many fatigues, hazards, and sorrows she had undergone.

Thus determined. she reconnoitred the field, and practised her address so successfully, that in less than half an hour she was loaded with ermine and embroidery,

embroidery, and disposed to retreat with her burden, when her regards were solicited by a splendid bundle, which she descried at some distance lying on the ground. This was no other than an unhappy officer of hussars ; who after having had the good fortune to take a Turkish standard, was desperately wounded in the thigh, and obliged to quit his horse : finding himself in such a helpless condition, he had wrapped his acquisition round his body, that whatever might happen, he and his glory should not be parted ; and thus shrouded among the dying and the dead, he had observed the progress of our heroine, who stalked about the field, like another Atropos, finishing, wherever she came, the work of death. He did not at all doubt, that he himself would be visited in the course of her peregrinations, and therefore provided for her reception, with a pistol ready cocked in his hand, while he lay perdue beneath his covert, in all appearance bereft of life. He was not deceived in his prognostic ; she no sooner eyed the golden crescent, than inflamed with curiosity or cupidity, she directed thitherward her steps, and discerning the carcase of a man, from which she thought there would be a necessity of disengaging it, she lifted up her weapon, in order to make sure of her purchase ; and in the very instant of discharging her blow, received a brace of bullets in her brain.

Thus ended the mortal pilgrimage of this modern Amazon, who, in point of courage, was not in-



ferior to Semiramis, Tomyris, Zenobia, Thalestris, or any boasted heroine of ancient times.

SMOLLET,

*Count Fatbom, vol. i. ch. iii. and iv.*

I RELATED the revolution under the prince of Orange ; the long war with France entered into by the said prince and renewed by his successor, wherein the greatest powers of Christendom were engaged, and which still continued : I computed, at his request, that about a million of men might have been killed in the whole progress of it ; and perhaps a hundred or more cities taken, and five times as many ships burnt or sunk.

What you have told me (said my master) upon the subject of war, does indeed discover most admirably the effects of that reason you pretend to : however it is happy, that the shame is greater than the danger ; and that nature has left you utterly incapable of doing much mischief. For, your mouths lying flat with your faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpose, unless by consent. Then as to the claws upon your feet before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our yahoos would drive a dozen of yours before him. And therefore in recounting the numbers of those who had been killed in battle, I cannot but think you have said *the thing which is not*.

I could not forbear shaking my head, and smiling a little at his ignorance. And being no stranger to the art of war, I gave him a description of cannons, culverins, musquets, carabines, pistols,

pistols, bullets, powder, swords, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, sea-fights, ships sunk, with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, smoke, noise, confusion, trampling to death under horses feet; flight, pursuit, victory; fields strewn with carcasses, left for food to dogs and wolves, and birds of prey; plundering, stripping, ravishing, burning, and destroying. And to set forth the valour of my own dear countrymen, I assured him that I had seen them blow up an hundred enemies at once in a siege, and as many in a ship; and beheld the dead bodies drop down in pieces from the clouds to the great diversion of the spectators.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part iv. ch. v.*

WHEN at length Hyder Ali found that he had to do with men \* who either would sign no convention, or whom no treaty, and no signature could bind, and who were the determined enemies of human intercourse itself, he decreed to make the country possessed by these incorrigible and predestinated criminals a memorable example to mankind. He resolved, in the gloomy recesses of a mind capacious of such things, to leave the whole Carnatic an everlasting monument of vengeance; and to put perpetual desolation as a barrier

\* Servants of the East India Company.

rier between him and those against whom the faith which holds the moral elements of the world together was no protection. He became at length so confident of his force, so collected in his might, that he made no secret whatever of his dreadful resolution. Having terminated his disputes with every enemy, and every rival, who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation against the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, he drew from every quarter, whatever a savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the arts of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc, and desolation into one black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing on this menacing meteor, which blackened all their horizon, it suddenly burst, and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic. Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of, were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple. The miserable inhabitants flying from their flaming villages, in part were slaughtered; others, without regard to sex, to age, to the respect of rank, or sacredness of function; fathers torn from children, husbands from wives, enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry, and amidst the goading, spears

spears of drivers, and the trampling of pursuing horses, were swept into captivity, in an unknown and hostile land. Those who were able to evade this tempest, fled to the walled cities. But escaping from fire, sword, and exile, they fell into the jaws of famine.

For eighteen months, without intermission, this destruction raged from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore; and so completely did these masters in their art, Hyder Ali, and his more ferocious son, absolve themselves of their impious vow, that when the British armies traversed, as they did the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description whatever. One dead uniform silence reigned over the whole region.

BURKE.

*Speech on the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot, p. 50.*

INSTANCES of this sort compose the uniform of history. But there have been periods when no less than universal destruction to the race of mankind seems to have been threatened: when the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, and the *Huns* poured into Gaul, Italy, Spain, Greece, and Africa, carrying destruction before them as they advanced, and leaving horrid desarts every where behind them. *Vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles; fumantia procul tecta; nemo exploratoribus obvius,\** is what Tacitus call *facies*  
vic-

\* A dreary silence extended on every side; the hills were solitary; houses every where and there were discerned smoking

*viçtoria*. It is always so, but was here emphatically so. From the north proceeded the swarms of Goths, Vandals, Huns, Ostrogoths, who ran towards the south into Africa itself, which suffered as all to the north had done.—

About this time, another torrent of barbarians, animated by the same fury, and encouraged by the same success, poured out of the south, and ravaged all to the north-east and west, to the remotest parts of Persia on the one hand, and to the banks of the Loire or further on the other; destroying all the proud and curious monuments of human art, that not even the memory might seem to survive of the former inhabitants. What has been done since, and what will continue to be done whilst the same inducements to war continue, I shall not dwell upon. I shall only in one word mention the horrid effects of bigotry and avarice, in the conquest of *Spanish America*; a conquest on a low estimation effected by the murder of ten million of the species. I shall draw to a conclusion by making a general calculation of the whole, I think I have actually mentioned above thirty-six millions. I have not particularized any more. I do not pretend to exactness; therefore, for the sake of a general view, I shall lay together all those actually slain in battles, or who have perished in a no less miserable manner by the other destructive con-

smoking among their ruins; scouts traversed the province in vain, not a single inhabitant was to be found.

consequences of war, from the beginning of the world to this day, in the four parts of it, at a thousand times as much; no exaggerated calculation, allowing for time and extent. We have not perhaps spoke of the five-hundredth part; I am sure I have not of what is actually ascertained in history; but how much of these butcheries are only expressed in general, what part of time history has never reached, and what vast spaces of the habitable globe it has not embraced, I need not mention. I need not enlarge on those torrents of silent and inglorious blood which have glutted the thirsty sands of Afric, or discoloured the paler snow, or fed the savage forests of America for so many ages of continual war; shall I, to justify my calculations from the charge of extravagance, add to the account those skirmishes which happen in all wars, without being singly of sufficient dignity in mischief, to merit a place in history, but which by their frequency compensate for this comparative innocence; shall I inflame the account by those general massacres which have devoured whole cities and nations; those wasting pestilences, those consuming famines, and all those furies that follow in the train of war? I have no need to exaggerate; and I have purposely avoided a parade of eloquence on this occasion. I should despise it upon any occasion; else in mentioning these slaughters, it is obvious how much the whole might be heightened, by an affecting description of the horrors that attend the wasting of kingdoms,

doms, and sacking of cities. But I do not write to the vulgar, nor to that which only governs the vulgar, their passions. I go upon a naked and moderate calculation, just enough, without a pedantical exactness, to give some feeling of the effects. The numbers I particularized are about thirty-six millions. Besides those killed in battles, I have something, not half, what the matter would have justified, concerning the consequences of war even more dreadful than that monstrous carnage itself which shocks our humanity, and almost staggers our belief. So that allowing me in my exuberance one way, for my deficiencies in the other, you will find me not unreasonable. I think the numbers of men now upon earth are computed at five hundred millions at the most. Here the slaughter of mankind, on what you will call a small calculation, amounts to upwards of seventy times the number of souls this day on the globe.

IDEM.

*Vindication of Natural Society, p. 28.*

SEVEN hundred millions of the human kind  
 Are held in base subjection ; and by whom ?  
 Why, strange to tell, and what futurity,  
 (As children at the tales of witch or sprite)  
 Will bless themselves to hear, by a small  
 Troop of weak capricious despots, fiends accurst,  
 Who drench the earth with tides of human gore,  
 And call the havoc glory.

\* \* \*

—————DARING

—————DARING men there are,  
Who, stung by glory, rave, and bound away,  
The world their field, and human kind their  
prey.

The Grecian chief, th' enthusiast of his pride,  
With rage and terror stalking by his side,  
Raves round the globe; he soars into a god!  
Stand fast, Olympus! and sustain his nod.  
The pest divine in horrid grandeur reigns,  
And thrives on mankind's miseries and pains.  
What slaughter'd hosts! what cities in a blaze!  
What wasted countries, and what crimson seas!  
With orphans tears his impious bowl o'erflows,  
And cries of kingdoms lull him to repose.

And cannot thrice ten hundred years unpraise  
The boisterous boy, and blast his guilty bays?  
Why want we then encomiums on the storm,  
Or famine, or volcano? they perform  
Their mighty deeds; they, hero-like, can slay,  
And spread their ample desarts in a day.  
O great alliance! O divine renown!

With dearth and pestilence to share the crown.

One to destroy is murder by the law;  
And gibbets keep the lifted hand in awe.  
To murder thousands, takes a specious name,  
War's glorious art, and gives immortal fame.

When, after battle, I the field have seen  
Spread o'er with ghastly shapes, which once were  
men;

A nation crush'd! a nation of the brave!  
A realm of death! and on this side the grave!

Are



Are there, said I, who from this sad survey  
 This human chaos, carry smiles away?  
 How did my heart with indignation rise!  
 How honest nature swell'd into my eyes!  
 How was I shock'd, to think the hero's trade  
 Of such materials, fame and triumph, made!

YOUNG.

*Satires, sat. vii.*

FIRST Envy, eldest born of hell embrued  
 Her hands in blood, and taught the sons of men  
 To make a death which nature never made,  
 And God abhorr'd; with violence rude to break  
 The thread of life ere half its length was run,  
 And rob a wretched brother of his being.  
 With joy Ambition saw, and soon improv'd  
 The execrable deed. 'Twas not enough  
 By subtle fraud to snatch a single life,  
 Puny impiety! whole kingdoms fell  
 To sate the lust of power: more horrid still,  
 The foulest stain and scandal of our nature  
 Became its boast. *One* murder makes a villain;  
*Millions* a hero. Princes were privileged  
 To kill, and numbers sanctified the crime.  
 Ah! why will kings forget that they are men?  
 And men that they are brethren? Why delight  
 In human sacrifice? Why burst the ties  
 Of nature, that should knit their souls to-  
 gether  
 In one soft bond of amity and love?  
 Yet still they breathe destruction, still go on,  
 Inhumanly ingenious, to find out

New

New pains for life, new terrors for the grave,  
 Artificers of death! still monarchs dream  
 Of universal empire growing up  
 From universal ruin. Blast the design,  
 Great God of hosts, nor let thy creatures fall  
 Unpitied victims at ambition's shrine!

PORTEUS.

*Death, a Poem.*

FROM yonder heath-crown'd hill  
 I look'd and saw the progress of the foe,  
 As of some tempest, some devouring fire,  
 That ruins without mercy where it spreads.  
 The riches of the year, the golden grain,  
 That liberal crown'd our plains, lies trampled  
     wide,  
 By hostile feet, or rooted up, and waste deforms  
 The broad high way: from space to space  
 Far as my straining eye could shoot its beam,  
 Trees, cottages, and castles smoke to heaven  
 In one ascending cloud.

THOMSON.

*Alfred, act.*

YET, yet a little, and destructive slaughter  
 Shall rage around, and mar this beauteous pro-  
     spect;  
 Pass but an hour, which stands betwixt the lives  
 Of thousands and eternity, what change  
 Shall hasty death make in yon glittering plain?  
 Oh thou fell monster, war! that in a moment  
 Lay'st waste the noblest part of the creation,  
 The boast and master-piece of the great maker,

Y

That

That wears in vain the impression of his image  
Unprivileg'd from thee.

ROWE.

*Temerlane, act*

THEY go forth,

Gay in the morning, as to summer sport ;  
When evening comes, the glory of the morn,  
The youthful warrior is a clod of clay.  
Thus fall the prime of either hapless land,

HOMER.

*Douglas, act. i.*

How many mothers shall bewail their sons !  
How many widows weep their husbands slain !  
Ye dames of Denmark ! ev'n for you I feel,  
Who sadly sitting on the sea-beat shore,  
Long look for lords that never shall return.

*Ib., act iii.*

J'étais lundi passé chez mon libraire caille,  
Qui dans son magasin n'a souvent rien qui vaille ;  
J'ai, dit-il, par bonheur, un ouvrage nouveau,  
Necessaire aux humains, & sage autant que beau :  
C'est à l'étudier qu'il faut que l'on s'applique ;  
Il fait seul nos destins ; prenez, c'est la Tactique.

La Tactique ? lui dis-je, hélas ! jusque a présent

J'ignorais la valeur de ce mot si savant.

Ce nom, repondit-il, venu de Grèce en France,  
Veut dire le grand art, ou l'art par excellence ;  
Des plus nobles esprits il remplit tous les vœux.

J'achetai sa Tactique, & je me crus heureux.

J'espérais

J'espérais trouver l'art de prolonger ma vie,  
 D'adoucir les chagrins dont elle est poursuivie,  
 De cultiver mes goûts, d'être sans passion,  
 D'asservir mes désirs au joug de la raison,  
 D'être juste envers tous, sans jamais être dupe.  
 Je m'enferme chez moi ; je lis ; je ne m'occupe  
 Que d'apprendre par cœur un livre si divin.  
 Mes amis ! c'était l'art d'égorger son prochain.  
 J'apprends qu'en Germanie, un bon prêtre  
 Petrit, pour s'amuser, du soufre & du salpêtre :  
 Qu'un énorme boulet, qu'on lance avec fracas,  
 Doit mirer un peu haut pour arriver plus bas,  
 Que d'un tube de bronze aussitôt la mort vole,  
 Dans la direction qui fait parabole,  
 Et renverse en deux coups, prudemment ménagés,  
 Cent automates bleus, à la file rangés.  
 Mousquet, poignard, épée ou tranchante ou  
 pointue,  
 Tout est bon, tout va bien, tout sert, pourvu  
 qu'on tue.

L'auteur, bientôt après, peint les voleurs de nuit,  
 Qui dans un chemin creux, sans tambour et sans  
 bruit,

Discrètement chargés de sabres, & d'échelles,  
 Assassinent d'abord cinq ou six sentinelles.  
 Puis, montant lestement aux murs de la cité,  
 Où les pauvres bourgeois dormaient en sûreté,  
 Portent dans leurs logis le fer avec les flammes,  
 Poignent les maris, couchent avec les dames,  
 Ecrasent les enfans, et las de tant d'efforts,  
 Boivent le vin d'autrui sur des monceaux de morts.

Le lendemain matin on les mène a l'église  
 Rendre grâce au bon Dieu de leur noble entreprise,  
 Lui chanter en Latin qu'il est leur digne appui,  
 Que dans la ville en feu l'on n'eût rien fait sans  
 lui,

Qu'on ne peut ni voler ni violer son monde,  
 Ni massacrer les gens, si Dieu ne nous seconde.

Etrangement surpris de cet art si vanté,  
 Je cours chez Monsieur Caille, encore épouvanté,  
 Je lui rend son volume, & lui dis en colère :  
 Allez, de Belzébuth détestable libraire !

Portez votre Tactique au chevalier de Tot ;  
 Il fait marcher les Turcs au nom de Sabaoth.

C'est lui qui, de canons couvrant les Dardanelles,  
 A tuer les chrétiens instruit les infidelles.

Allez ; adressez vous à Monsieur Romanzof ;  
 Aux vainqueurs tout sanglans de Bender & d'Azof ;  
 A FREDERIC surtout offrez ce bel ouvrage ;

Et soyez convaincu qu'il en sait davantage ;  
 Lucifer l'inspira bien mieux que votre auteur ;

Il est maître passé dans cet art plein d'horreur !

Plus adroit meurtrier que GUSTAVE et qu'Ep-

GENE.

Allez ; je ne crois pas que la nature humaine  
 Sortit (je ne sais quand) des mains du créateur,  
 Pour insulter ainsi l'éternel bienfaiteur,  
 Pour montrer tant de rage & tant d'extravagance,  
 L'Homme avec ses six doigts, sans armes, sans  
 défense,

N'a point été formé pour abréger des jours  
 Que la nécessité rendait déjà si courts.

La

La goutte avec sa cruë, et la glaire endurcie  
Qui se forme en cailloux au fond de la vessie,  
La fièvre, le catarre, & cent maux plus affreux,  
Cent charlatans fourrés, encore plus dangereux,  
Auraient suffi, sans doute, au malheur de la terre,  
Sans que l'homme inventât ce grand art de la  
guerre.

Je hais tous les héros; depuis le grand Cyrus,  
Jusqu'à ce roi brillant qui forma Lentulus,  
On a beau me vanter leur conduite admirable,  
Je m'enfuis loin d'eux tous, et je les donne aux  
diable.

VOLTAIRE.

*Tactique,*

[The poem of which the preceding passage is a part, is undoubtedly the finest of M. de Voltaire. It was written towards the close of his long and illustrious life, and therefore is not to be found in any English translation of his works. It was conceived that the unlearned reader would prefer the having a prose translation to the being deprived of so incomparable an entertainment.]

I went last Monday to the shop of my bookseller, whose warehouses, with all their variety, often afford me nothing to read. I have got to-day, said he, by good luck, a new work, necessary to the happiness of mankind, and as full of instruction as delight. No one ought to neglect the perusal of this performance; the destiny of all depends upon it: let me send it you: it is entitled *Tactics*. \*

3

*Tactics*

\* The work alluded to is the *Tactics* of M. Guibert.

Tactics ! said I. Alas ! to this day I have been ignorant of the meaning of this learned noun substantive.

It is a word, answered my bookseller, that is descended to us from the Greeks.† It signifies the great art, or THE art by way of eminence. The sanguine wishes of the most daring genius find themselves here fully gratified.

I bought his Tactics, and rejoiced in the purchase. I hoped to find in this divine work, the art of lengthening my life; of surmounting the miseries with which it is infested; of cultivating my taste; of subduing my passions; of subjecting my desires to the yoke of reason; of being just towards all men, without ever being their dupe. I shut myself up in my study, I read, I devour, I digest every word of so admirable a work. Great gods ! the object of this art was to instruct men to cut each others throats.

I learned that formerly, in Germany, a guileless monk, to amuse his leisure, invented a certain composition of brimstone and saltpetre; that a large leaden ball, thrown out with a terrible report, ought to be directed to a certain height in order to descend to a certain level: and that this rule being attended to, death infallibly flies out from a brass cylinder in a certain curve called a parabola, and overturns, being once repeated and managed with

† It is derived from a Greek word which signifies to arrange or put in order.

with sufficient skill, a hundred blue automata standing all in a row. In a word, musket, dagger, sword with a sharp edge or a sharp point, are all good, all worthy of honour, provided that they kill.

In another chapter, the author describes a set of highwaymen prepared for nightly depredation, who, having taken their stand in a hollow way, and being properly furnished with sabres and scaling ladders, proceed in the first place without sound of trumpet or drum, to the assassination of five or six centinels; afterwards, having dextrously climbed the walls of a city, while each honest trader was sleeping securely in his bed, they spread from street to street fire and sword, stab the men, ravish their wives, knock out the brains of the young children, and at length, exhausted with so many efforts, carouse the wine of another in the midst of bleeding bodies. The next morning they proceed, as in duty bound, to return thanks to God for their heroical enterprize; to tell him in Latin with a nasal twang, that he alone is their protector; that while the town was in flames, they could do nothing without him, that one can neither rob nor ravish to one's hearts-content, nor massacre the defenceless, without God to second our undertakings.

Surprised as I was at the discovery of this boasted art, I hastened once more to my bookseller, out of breath with horror and amaze, returned to him



his volume, and exclaim, my eyes flashing with rage:

Begone, accursed bookseller of Belzebub! carry your Tactics to the Chevalier de Tot. He teaches the Turks to march in the name of the Lord; he instructs unbelievers to cover the Dardanelles with their cannon, and kill the inhabitants of the Christian world. Begone! address yourself to the Count de Romanzow; to the pitiless conqueror of Azof and Bender; but chiefly offer this admirable performance to the great Frederic. He knows more of this art than your author, and is upon more confidential terms with Lucifer. He is consummate master of this horrible science, more perfect in it than either Gustavus or Eugene. Begone! I will never believe that human nature came out (God knows when) from the hands of its creator, thus to insult its omnipotent benefactor, to be guilty of so much extravagance, and so much insanity. Man, with his ten fingers, unarmed either for attack or defence, was never formed violently to abridge a life which necessity has already rendered so short. The gout with its chalk-stones, and the hardened slime which forms itself into pebbles at the bottom of the bladder, the fever, the catarrh, and a hundred diseases more dreadful; a hundred mountebanks in ermine, still more the foes of our peace, would have been sufficient to render this globe a valley of tears, without its being necessary to invent this sublime art of war.

The

2322042

The whole race of heroes are my aversion; from Cyrus the Great down to that illustrious prince that taught Lentulus to conquer. Talk to me as you please of their conduct, sagacity, and generalship, I fly from them all, and give them to the devils.

• Frederick II. King of Prussia.

## CAUSES

## CAUSES OF WAR.

HOW various and how dreadful are the miseries of war! what horrid infatuation impels mankind! Their days upon the earth are few, and those few are evil: why then should they precipitate death, which is already near? Why should they add bitterness to life that is already bitter? All men are brothers, and yet they hunt each other as prey.—The wild beasts of the desert are less cruel: lions wage not war with lions; and to the tiger the tiger is peaceable; the only objects of their ferocity are animals of a different species. Man does, in opposition to reason, what, by animals that are without reason, is never done. And for what are these wars undertaken?

Some tyrant sighs for a new appellation: he would be called a conqueror; and for this he kindles a flame that would desolate the earth. Ruin must spread, blood must flow, fire must consume, and he who escapes from the flames and the sword, must perish by famine with yet more anguish and horror, than one man, to whom the miseries

miseries of a world is sport, may, from this general destruction, obtain a fanciful possession of what he calls glory.

FENELON.

*Telemaque, liv. xvii.*

[I WAS] asked, what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another? I answered, they were innumerable; but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern. Sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinions hath cost many millions of lives: for instance whether *flesh* be *bread*, or *bread* be *flesh*; \* whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine; whether *whistling* be a vice or a virtue; † whether it be better to *kiss a post* or throw it into the fire; ‡ what is the best colour for a *coat*, whether *black*, *white*, *red*, or *grey*; and whether it should be *long* or *short*, *narrow* or *wide*, *dirty* or *clean*, with many more. § Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by differences in opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

Some-

\* Transubstantiation.

† Church-music.

‡ Kissing a Cross.

§ The colour and make of sacred vestments, and different orders of popish ecclesiastics.

Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrelleth with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong; and sometimes because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want; and we both fight till they take ours, or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into a war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lie convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominions round and compact. If a prince sends forces into a nation, where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he hath driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve. Alliance by blood or marriage is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater

is their disposition to quarrel. There is likewise a kind of beggarly princes in Europe, not able to make war by themselves, who hire out their troops to richer nations, for so much a day to each man, of which they keep three fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their maintenance.

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part. iv. ch. v.*

THE two great empires of Lilliput and Blefuscu have been engaged in a most obstinate war for six and thirty moons past. It began upon the following occasion: It is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking eggs, † before we eat them, was upon the larger end; but his present majesty's grand-father, while he was a boy, going to eat an egg, and breaking it according to the antient practice, happened to cut one of his fingers. Whereupon the emperor, his father, published an edict, commanding all his subjects, upon great penalties, to break the smaller end of their eggs. The people so highly resented this law, that our histories tell us, there have been six rebellions raised on that account; wherein one emperor lost his life † and another his crown. § These civil commotions were constantly fomented by the monarchs of Blefuscu; and when they were quelled the exiles always fled for refuge to that empire. It is computed that eleven thousand persons have at several

✧ England and France.

‡ Charles I.

† Primitive Religion.

§ James II.

times suffered death, rather than submit to break their eggs at the smaller end. Many hundred large volumes have been published upon this controversy; but the books of the Big-endians \* have been long forbidden, and the whole party rendered incapable by law of holding employments. During the course of these troubles, the emperors of Blefuscu did frequently expostulate by their ambassadors, accusing us of making a schism in religion by offending against a fundamental doctrine of our great prophet Lustrog, in the fifty-fourth chapter of the Blunderal (which is their Alcoran). This however is thought to be a mere strait upon the text; for the words are these: *That all true believers break their eggs at the convenient end.* And which is the convenient end, seems, in my humble opinion, to be left to every man's conscience, or at least in the power of the chief magistrate to determine. Now the Big-endian exiles have found so much credit in the emperor of Blefuscu's court, and so much private assistance and encouragement from their party here at home, that a bloody war hath been carried on between the two empires for six and thirty moons, with various success; during which time we have lost forty capital ships, and a much greater number of smaller vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best seamen and soldiers; and the damage received by the enemy is reckoned to be somewhat greater than ours. How-

ever,

\* Papists.

ever, they have now equipped a numerous fleet, and are just preparing to make a descent upon us:

SWIFT.

*Gulliver's Travels, part i. ch. iv.*

As Francis the First was one winterly night warming himself over the embers of a wood fire, and talking with his first minister of sundry things for the good of the state—it would not be amiss, said the king, stirring up the embers with his cane, if this good understanding betwixt ourselves and Switzerland was a little strengthened.—There is no end, sire, replied the minister, in giving money to these people—they would swallow up the treasury of France.—Poo, poo! answered the king—there are more ways, Monsieur le Premier, of bribing states besides that of giving money—I'll pay Switzerland the honour of standing godfather to my next child.—Your majesty, said the minister, in so doing, would have all the grammarians in Europe upon your back: Switzerland, as a republic, being a female, can in no construction be godfather.—She may be godmother, replied Francis hastily—so announce my intentions by a courier to-morrow morning.

I am astonished, said Francis the First, (that day fortnight) speaking to his minister as he entered the closet, that we have had no answer from Switzerland.—Sire, I wait upon you this moment, said Mons. le Premier, to lay before you my dispatches upon that business.—They take it kindly, said the king.—They do, sire, replied the minister, and have



have the highest sense of the honour your majesty has done them—but the republic, as godmother, claims her right in this case of naming the child.

In all reason, quoth the king—she will christen him Francis, or Henry, or Louis, or some name that she knows will be agreeable to us.—Your majesty is deceived, replied the minister. I have this hour received a dispatch from our resident, with a determination upon that point also.—And what name has the republic fixed upon for the Dauphin? Shadrach, Mesech, Abed-nego, replied the minister.—By Saint Peter's girdle, I will have nothing to do with the Swiss, cried Francis the First, pulling up his breeches, and walking hastily across the floor.

Your majesty, replied the minister calmly, cannot bring yourself off.

We'll pay them in money, said the king.

Sire, there are not sixty thousand crowns in the treasury, answered the minister.—I'll pawn the best jewel in my crown, quoth Francis the First.

Your honour stands pawned already in this matter, answered Monsieur le Premier.

Then, Monsieur le Premier, said the king, by — we'll go to war with 'em.

STERNE.

*Tristram Shandy, vol. iv. ch. xxi.*

A GENEALOGIST sets forth to a prince that he is descended in a direct line from a count, whose kindred, three or four hundred years ago, had made

made a family compact with a house, the memory of which is extinguished. That house had some distant claim to a province, the last proprietor of which died of an apoplexy. The prince and his council instantly resolve that this province belongs to him of divine right. The province, which is some hundred leagues from him, protests that it does not so much as know him, that it is not disposed to be governed by him, that before prescribing laws to them, their consent at least was necessary: these allegations do not so much as reach the prince's ears; it is insisted on that his right is incontestible. He instantly picks up a multitude, who have nothing to do and nothing to lose, clothes them with coarse blue cloth; puts on them hats bound with coarse white worsted; makes them turn to the right and left; and thus marches away with them to glory.

Other princes, on this armament, take part in it to the best of their ability, and soon cover a small extent of country with more hireling murderers, than Gengis Kan, Tamerlane and Bajazet had at their heels.

People at no small distance, on hearing that fighting is going forward, and that if they would make one, there are five or six *sous* a day for them, immediately divide into two bands, like reapers, and go and sell their services to the best bidder.

These multitudes furiously butcher one another, not only without having any concern in the quarrel, but without so much as knowing what it is about.

Sometimes five or six powers are engaged, three against three, two against four, sometimes even one against five, all equally detesting one another, and friends and foes by turns, agreeing only in one thing, to all the mischief possible.

VOLTAIRE.

*Philosopb. Dict. Art. War.*

AMONG the genii who preside over the empires of the world, Ithuriel is one of the first rank, and is appointed for the province of Upper Asia. One morning he descended at the house of Babouc, and said unto him—Babouc, the follies and excesses of the Persians have drawn down our wrath. Yesterday was held an assembly of the genii of Upper Asia, to determine if they should chastise Persepolis or destroy it. Go into that city, examine every thing, and then return and give me a faithful account of it: upon thy report I will resolve whether to correct the city or exterminate it.

Babouc mounted his camel, and departed with his servants. After some days he met the Persian army near the plains of Senaar, who were on the point of giving battle to the Indian army. He accosted a soldier whom he found at a distance from the camp, and asked him the cause of the war. By all the gods, said the soldier, I know nothing of the matter. It is not my business. My trade is to kill and be killed, to get my bread. It matters not whom I serve. But if you would know why we fight even ask my captain.

Babouc, having made the soldier a small present, entered the camp. He soon got acquainted with the captain, and asked him the occasion of the

war.

war. How can you imagine that I should know it, said the captain, or what signifies the occasion of it to me. I live two hundred leagues from Persépolis; I hear that war is declared, I go, according to our custom, to seek preferment or death.—But do not your comrades know more of it than you? said Babouc.—Not one of them, replied the officer; our chief satrap only knows exactly the reason why we cut each others throats.

Babouc amazed, introduced himself to the generals, and became familiar with them. At last one of them informed him, that the war, which for twenty years had laid Asia waste, arose originally from a quarrel between an eunuch of one of the wives of the king of Persia and an officer of the customs of the king of India. The dispute was about a duty which amounted to almost the thirtieth part of a darique. The prime minister of the Indies, and ours, with great dignity maintained the interests of their respective masters; the dispute grew warm; they took the field with an army of a million of soldiers on both sides; that army must be yearly recruited with more than four hundred thousand men; murders, burnings, ruin and devastation increase; the universe suffers, and the mischief continues. Our first minister, and the minister of the Indies, often protest, that they act only for the good of mankind, and at every protestation some city is destroyed, or some province ravaged.

VOLTAIRE.

*Babouc, cb. i.*

THE English and French are at present engaged in a very destructive war, have already spilled much blood, are excessively irritated, and all upon account of one side's desiring to wear greater quantities of furs than the other.

The pretext of the war is about some lands a thousand leagues off; a country cold, desolate, and hideous; a country belonging to a people who were in possession for time immemorial. The savages of Canada claim a property in the country in dispute; they have all the pretensions which long possession can confer. Here they have reigned for ages, without rivals in dominion, and knew no enemies but the prowling bear, or insidious tyger; their native forests produced all the necessaries of life, and they found ample luxury in the enjoyment. In this manner they might have continued to live to eternity, had not the English been informed that those countries produced furs in great abundance. From that moment the country became an object of desire; was found that furs were things very much wanted in England; the ladies edged some of their clothes with furs, and muffs were worn both by gentlemen and ladies. In short, furs were found indispensably necessary to the happiness of the state; and the king was consequently petitioned to grant not only the country of Canada, but all the savages belonging to it, to the subjects of England, in order to have the people supplied with proper quantities of this necessary commodity.

So very reasonable a request was immediately  
com-

complied with, and large colonies were sent abroad to procure furs and take possession. The French, who were equally in want of furs, (for they are as fond of muffs and tippetts as the English) made the very same request to their monarch, and met with the same gracious reception from their king, who generously granted what was not his to give. Wherever the French landed, they called the country their own; and the English took possession wherever they came upon the same equitable pretensions. The harmless savages made no opposition; and could the intruders have agreed together, they might peaceably have shared this desolate country between them. But they quarrelled about the boundaries of their settlements, about grounds and rivers, to which neither side could show any other right than that of power, and which neither could occupy but by usurpation. Such is the contest that no honest man can heartily wish success to either party.

GOLDSMITH.

*Citizen of the World, let. xvii.*

I AM told that the famous combustion, raised some years ago at Hamburg, by one Krumbultz, a divine, and in which that free city had like to have perished, was occasioned by this momentous question, namely, Whether in the Lord's prayer we should say, *Our Father*, or *Father Our*—a hopeful point of debate to be the cause of civil dissention!

How many peaceable nations have been robbed, how many millions of innocents butchered out of mere honour, princely honour? His grace, Vil-

liers, first duke of Buckingham, engaged his country in two mad wars at once, with the two greatest powers in Europe, because his honour had suffered a rebuff in his attempts to debauch two great foreign ladies. Europe was to be embroiled; lives, treasure, and the safety of kingdoms to be risked and thrown away, to vindicate, forsooth, his grace's debauched honour.

Cambyses, to revenge an affront put upon his father many years before by an Egyptian king in the business of sending him a wife, involved the world in a flame of war, and at the expence, perhaps, of a million of lives, and the destruction of kingdoms, did at last heroically vindicate his father's honour and his own, upon the bones of a dead king, whom he caused to be dug up, and, after many indignities, cast into the fire.

White elephants are rare in nature, and so greatly valued in the Indies, that the king of Pegu, hearing that the king of Siam had got two, sent an embassy in form, to desire one of them of his royal brother at any price: but being refused, he thought his honour concerned to wage war for so great an affront. So he entered Siam with a vast army, and with the loss of five hundred thousand of his own men, and the destruction of as many of the Siameses, he made himself master of the elephant, and retrieved his honour.

In short, honour and victory are generally no more than white elephants; and for white elephants the most destructive wars have been often made. What man, free, either by birth or  
spirit,

spirit, could, without pity and contempt, behold, as in a late French reign he frequently might behold, a swarm of slavish Frenchmen, in wooden shoes, with hungry bellies, and no clothes, dancing round a may-pole, because their *grand monarque*, at the expence of a million of their money, and thirty or forty thousand lives, had acquired a white elephant, or in other words, gained a town or victory?

GORDON.

*Cato's Letters, vol. ii. No. 48, and 57.*

*Antony.* — WHY did they refuse to march?

*Ventidius.* They said they would not fight for Cleopatra.

Why should they fight indeed to make her conquer,  
And make you more a slave? To gain you kingdoms

Which for a kiss, at your next midnight feast,  
You'll sell to her? — Then she new names her jewels,

And calls this diamond such and such a tax?  
Each pendant in her ear shall be a province.

Behold, you powers,  
To whom you have entrusted human kind!  
See Europe, Afric, Asia, put in balance,  
And all weigh'd down by one light worthless woman!

I think the Gods are Antonies, and give,  
Like prodigals, this nether world away  
To none but wasteful hands,

DRYDEN.

*All for Love, act iii.*

PERPLEX'D



PERPLEX'D with trifles through the vale of life,  
 Man strives 'gainst man, without a cause for strife;  
 Armies embattled meet, and thousands bleed,  
 For some vile spot where fifty cannot feed.  
 Squirrels for nuts contend, and wrong or right,  
 For the world's empire kings ambitious fight.  
 What odds!—to us 'tis all the self same thing,  
 A nut, a world, a squirrel, and a king:

CHURCHIL.

*Night, vol. i. p. 86.*

Two thousand souls, and twenty thousand  
 ducats,

Will not debate the question of this straw.

SHAKESPEARE.

*Hamlet, act. iv.*

I see

THE imminent death of twenty thousand men,  
 That, for a fantasy, and trick of fame,  
 Go to their graves like beds; fight for a plot,  
 Whereon the numbers cannot try the cause,  
 Which is not tomb enough and continent  
 To hide the slain.

*Ibid.*

STRIPT of her gaudy plumes and vain disguise,  
 See where ambition mean and loathsome lies;  
 Reflection with relentless hand pulls down  
 The tyrant's bloody wreath and ravish'd crown.  
 In vain he tells of battles bravely won;  
 Of nations conquer'd and of worlds undone:

Triumph

Triumphs like these but ill with mankind suit,  
And sink the conqueror beneath the brute.

CHURCHILL.

*Night, vol. i. p. 83.*

HELM nor Hawbeck's twisted mail,  
Not ey'n thy virtues, tyrant ! shall avail  
To save thy soul from nightly fears ;  
From Cambria's curse, from Cambria's tears.

GRAY.

*The Bard.*

THY dazzled eye  
Beholds this man in a false glaring light,  
Which conquest and success have thrown upon  
him.  
Did'st thou but view him right, thou'dst see him  
black  
With murder—and crimes  
That strike my soul with horror but to name 'em.

ADDISON.

*Cato, act ii.*

THEY err who count it glorious to subdue  
By conquest far and wide ; to overrun  
Large countries, and in field great battles win,  
Great cities by assault : what do these worthies  
But rob, and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave  
Peaceable nations ? neighbouring or remote,  
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more  
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind  
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove ;  
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy ;  
Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods.

Great

Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,  
 Worshipp'd with temple, priest, and sacrifice :  
 One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other,  
 'Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men,  
 Rolling in brutish sin.——  
 Violent or shameful death their due reward.

MILTON.

*Paradise Regained.*

CURS'D is the man, and void of law and right,  
 Unworthy property, unworthy light ;  
 Unfit for public rule or private care,  
 That wretch, that monster who delights in war ;  
 Whose lust is murder, and whose horrid joy,  
 To tear his country, and his kind destroy.

POPE.

*Homer's Iliad, b. ix.*

He ought to be lightly esteemed of men, by whom  
 men are so lightly esteemed, that, to gratify a brutal  
 vanity, he would deluge the earth with their blood.

Let those who fancy they are demigods, hence-  
 forth remember they are less than men ; and let  
 every succeeding age, by which they hope to be ad-  
 mired, hold them in execration.

FENELON.

*Telemaque, lib. xi.*

IMPRESS

## IMPRESS OF SEAMEN.

AS I crossed Tower Wharf, a squat tawny fellow, with a hanger by his side, and a cudgel in his hand, came up to me, calling "Yo, ho! brother, "you must come along with me." As I did not like his appearance, instead of answering his salutation, I quickened my pace, in hope of ridding myself of his company; upon which he whistled aloud, and immediately another sailor appeared before me, who laid hold of me by the collar, and began to drag me along. Not being of a humour to relish such treatment, I disengaged myself of the assailant, and with one blow of my cudgel laid him motionless on the ground; and perceiving myself surrounded in a trice, by ten or a dozen more, exerted myself with such dexterity and success, that some of my opponents were fain to attack me with drawn cut-lasses; and after an obstinate engagement, in which I received a large wound on my head, and another on my left cheek, I was disarmed, taken prisoner, and carried on board a pressing-tender; where, after being pinioned like a malefactor, I was thrust  
down

down into the hold, among a parcel of miserable wretches, the sight of whom well nigh distracted me. As the commanding officer had not humanity enough to order my wounds to be dressed, and I could not use my own hands, I desired one of my fellow captives, who was unfettered, to take a handkerchief out of my pocket and tie it round my head to stop the bleeding. He pulled out my handkerchief, 'tis true, but instead of applying it to the use for which I designed it, went to the grating of the hatchway, and, with astonishing composure, sold it before my face to a bum-boat woman, then on board, for a quart of gin, with which he treated my companions, regardless of my circumstances and entreaties.

I complained bitterly of this robbery, to the midshipman on deck, telling him at the same time, that unless my hurts were dressed, I should bleed to death. But compassion was a weakness of which no man could justly accuse this person; who, squirting a mouthful of dissolved tobacco upon me through the gratings, told me, I was a mutinous dog, and that I might die and be damned. Finding there was no other remedy, I appealed to patience, and laid up this usage in my memory, to be recalled at a fitter season. In the mean time, loss of blood, vexation and want of food, contributed, with the noisome stench of the place, to throw me into a swoon; out of which I was recovered by a tweak of the nose, administered by the ~~tar~~ who stood sentinel over us, who at the  
- same

same time regaled me with a draught of flip, and comforted me with the hopes of being put on board the Thunder next day, where I should be freed of my handcuffs, and cured of my wounds by the doctor.

When we came along side the Thunder, lying at the Nore, the mate, who guarded us thither, ordered my handcuffs to be taken off, that I might get on board the easier. After we had been all entered upon the ship's books, I inquired of one of my ship-mates where the surgeon was, that I might have my wounds dressed, and had actually got as far as the middle deck (for our ship carried eighty guns) in my way to the cock-pit, when I was met by the same midshipman who had used me so barbarously in the tender: he seeing me free from my chains, asked, with an insolent air, who had released me? To this question I foolishly answered, with a countenance that too plainly declared the state of my thoughts: "Whoever did it, I am persuaded, did not consult you in the affair." I had no sooner uttered these words, than he cried, "Damn you, you saucy son of a bitch, I'll teach you to talk so to your officer." So saying he bestowed on me several severe stripes with a supple-jack he had in his hand; and going to the commanding officer, made such a report of me, that I was immediately put in irons by the master at arms, and a centinel placed over me. Hones Ratlin, as soon as he heard of my condition, came to me, and administered all the consolation

consolation he could, and then went to the surgeon in my behalf, who sent one of his mates to dress my wounds.

SMOLLET.

*Roderic Random, vol. i. ch. xxii.*

RATHER than adopt any project hitherto invented [for manning the navy] we continue a practice seemingly the most absurd and unaccountable. Authority, in times of full internal peace and concord, is armed against law. A continued violence is permitted in the crown, amidst the greatest jealousy and watchfulness in the people; nay proceeding from those very principles: liberty, is left entirely to its own defence, without any countenance or protection. The wild state of nature is renewed, in one of the most civilized societies of mankind: and great violence and disorder are committed with impunity; while the one party pleads obedience to the supreme magistrate, the other the sanction of fundamental laws.

HUME.

*Essays, vol. i. p. 336.*

JUDGE FOSTER, page 158. *I think the crown hath a right to command the personal service of these people, [seamen] whenever the public service calleth for it. The same right that it hath to require the personal service of every man able to bear arms in case of a sudden invasion or formidable insurrection. The right in both cases is founded on one and the same principle, the necessity of the case in order to the preservation of the whole.*

The

The conclusion here from the *whole to a part*, does not seem to be good logic. If the alphabet should say, let us all fight for the defence of the whole; that is equal, and may, therefore, be just. But if they should say, let A B C and D go out and fight for us, while we stay at home and sleep in whole skins; that is not equal, and therefore cannot be just.

*Ib.* The only course then left, is for the crown to employ upon emergent occasions the mariners bred up in the merchant's service.

"Employ."—If you please. The word signifies engaging a man to work for me, by offering him such wages as are sufficient to induce him to prefer my service. This is very different from compelling him to work on such terms as I think proper.

*Ib.* The mariner, when taken into the service of the crown only changeth masters for a time: his service and employment continue the very same, with this advantage, that the dangers of the sea and enemy are not so great in the service of the crown, as in that of the merchant.

These are false facts. His employments and service are not the same.—Under the merchant he goes in an unarmed vessel, not obliged to fight, but to transport merchandize. In the king's service he is obliged to fight, and to hazard all the dangers of battle. Sickness on board of king's ships is also more common and more mortal. The merchant's service too he can quit at the end of the



the voyage ; not the king's. Also, the merchant's wages are much higher.

*Ib.* I am very sensible of the hardship the sailor suffereth from an impress in some particular cases, especially if pressed homeward bound after a long voyage. But an impress on outward bound vessels would be attended with much greater inconvenience to the trade of the kingdom ; and yet that too is sometimes necessary.

Here are two things put in comparison that are not comparable : viz. injury to seamen, and inconvenience to trade. Inconvenience to the whole trade of a nation will not justify injustice to a single seaman. If the trade would suffer without his service, it is able and ought to be willing to offer him such wages as may induce him to afford his service voluntarily.

Page 159. *The practice of pressing is one of the mischiefs war bringeth with it. But it is a maxim in law, and good policy too, that all private mischiefs must be borne with patience for preventing a national calamity.*

Where is this maxim in law and good policy to be found ? And how can that be a maxim which is not consistent with common sense ? If the maxim had been, that private mischiefs, which prevent a national calamity, ought to be generously compensated by the nation, one might understand it : but that such private mischiefs are only to be borne with patience, is absurd !

*IV. The*

*Ib.* The expedient of a voluntary register, which was attempted in king William's time, had no effect.

And some late schemes, I have seen appear to me more inconvenient to the mariner and more inconsistent with the principles of liberty, than the practice of pressing; and, what is still worse, they are in my opinion totally impracticable.

Twenty ineffectual or inconvenient schemes will not justify one that is unjust.

*Ib.* Thus much I thought proper to say upon the foot of reason and public utility.

Your reasoning, indeed, like a lie, stands but upon one foot; truth upon two.

Page 160. Masters and mariners received full wages.

Probably the same they had in the merchant's service.

Page 174. I readily admit that our impress is a restraint upon the natural liberty of those who are liable to it, but it must be admitted on the other hand, that every restraint upon natural liberty is not, *eo nomine*, illegal, or at all inconsistent with the principles of civil liberty, &c.

When this author speaks of impressing, page 158, he diminishes the horror of the practice as much as possible, by presenting to the mind one sailor only suffering a "hardship" (as he tenderly calls it) in some "particular cases" only; and he places against this private mischief the inconvenience to the trade of the kingdom.—But if, as he supposes is often the case, the sailor who is

pressed, and obliged to serve for the defence of trade, at the rate of twenty-five shillings a month, could get three pounds fifteen shillings in the merchant's service; you take from him fifty shillings a month; and if you have 100,000 in your service, you rob this honest industrious part of society and their poor families of 250,000*l.* per month, or three millions a year, and at the same time oblige them to hazard their lives in fighting for the defence of your trade; to the defence of which all ought indeed to contribute (and sailors among the rest) in proportion to their profits by it: but this three millions is more than their share, if they did not pay with their persons; but when you force that, methinks you should excuse the other.

But it may be said, to give the king's seamen merchant's wages would cost the nation too much, and call for more taxes. The question then will amount to this: whether it be just in a community, that the richer part should compel the poorer to fight in defence of them and their properties, for such wages as they think fit to allow, and punish them if they refuse? Our author tells us that it is "*legal*." I have not law enough to dispute his authorities, but I cannot persuade myself that it is equitable. I will, however, own for the present, that it may be lawful when necessary; but then I contend that it may be used so as to produce the same good effects—the public security—without doing so much intolerable injustice.

justice as attends the impressing common seamen. — In order to be better understood, I would premise two things: First, that voluntary seamen may be had for the service, if they were sufficiently paid. The proof is, that to serve in the same ship, and incur the same dangers, you have no occasion to impress captains, lieutenants, second lieutenants, midshipmen, purasers, nor many other officers. Why, but that the profits of their places, or the emoluments expected, are sufficient inducements? The business then is, to find money, by impressing, sufficient to make the sailors all volunteers, as well as their officers; and this without any fresh burthen upon trade. — The second of my premises, is, that twenty-five shillings a month, with his share of the salt beef, pork, and pease-pudding, being found sufficient for the subsistence of a hard-working seaman, it will certainly be so for a sedentary scholar or gentleman. I would then propose to form a treasury, out of which encouragements to seamen should be paid. To fill this treasury, I would impress a number of civil officers who, at present have great salaries, oblige them to serve in their respective offices for twenty-five shillings a month with their shares of mess provisions, and throw the rest of their salaries into the seamen's treasury. If such a press-warrant were given me to execute, the first I would press should be a Recorder of Bristol, or a Mr. Justice Foster, because I might have need of his edifying example, to show

how much impressing ought to be borne with ; for he would certainly find, that though to be reduced to twenty-five shillings a month might be a "*private mischief*," yet that, agreeably to his maxim of law and good policy, it "*ought to be borne with patience*," for preventing a national calamity. Then I would press the rest of the Judges ; and opening the red book, I would press every civil officer of government from 50l. a year salary, up to 50,000l. which would throw an immense sum into our treasury : and these gentlemen could not complain, since they would receive twenty-five shillings a month, and their rations ; and this without being obliged to fight. Lastly, I think I would impress \* \* \*

FRANKLIN,

*Works, Essays, p. 155.*

I YESTERDAY expressed my wonder that John Hay, one of our guides, who had been pressed aboard a man of war, did not chuse to continue in it longer than nine months, after which time he got off.—*Johnson*. "Why, Sir, no man will be a sailor, who has contrivance enough to get himself into a jail ; for, being in a ship is being in a jail with the chance of being drowned."

*Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, p. 131.*

NAVAL

NAVAL DESPOTISM.

IN the evening Morgan [first surgeon's mate] visited the sick, and having ordered what was proper for each, I assisted Thomson [second mate] in making up his prescriptions: but when I followed him with the medicines into the sick birth or hospital, and observed the situation of the patients, I was much less surprised that people should die on board, than that any sick person should recover. Here I saw about fifty miserable distempered wretches, suspended in rows, so huddled one upon another, that not more than fourteen inches space was allotted for each with his bed and bedding; and deprived of the light of day, as well as of fresh air, breathing nothing but a noisome atmosphere of the morbid steams exhaling from their own excrements and diseased bodies, devoured with vermin hatched in the filth that surrounded them, and destitute of every convenience necessary for people in that helpless condition.

About this time captain Oakhum, having received sailing orders, came on board, and brought

along with him a surgeon of his own country, grossly ignorant, and intolerably assuming, false, vindictive, and unforgiving, a merciless tyrant to his inferiors, an abject sycophant to those above him. In the morning after the captain came on board, our first mate, according to custom, went to wait on him with a sick list, which when this grim commander had perused, he cried with a stern countenance, "Blood and oons! sixty-one people sick on board of my ship! Hark'e, you sir, I'll have no sick in my ship, by G—d!" The Welchman replied, he should be very glad to find no sick people on board; but while it was otherwise he did no more than his duty in presenting him with a list. "You and your list may be d—n'd," said the captain, throwing it at him; "I say there shall be no sick in this ship while I have the command of her." Mr. Morgan being nettled at this treatment, told him, his indignation ought to be directed to God Almighty, who visited his people with distempers, and not to him, who contributed all in his power towards their cure. The bashaw not being used to such behaviour in any of his officers, was enraged to fury at this satirical insinuation, and stamping with his foot, called him insolent scoundrel, threatening to have him pinioned to the deck, if he should presume to utter another syllable.

Morgan came down to the birth, where he soon received a message from the surgeon, to bring the sick list to the quarter-deck, for the captain had ordered

ordered all the patients thither to be reviewed. This inhuman order shocked us extremely, as we knew it would be impossible to carry some of them on the deck, without imminent danger of their lives; but as we likewise knew it would be to no purpose for us to remonstrate, we repaired to the quarter-deck in a body, to see this extraordinary muster; Morgan observing by the way, that the captain was going to send to the other world a great many evidences to testify against him. When we appeared upon deck, the captain bade the doctor, who stood bowing at his right hand, look at these lazy lubberly sons of bitches, who were good for nothing on board but to eat the king's provision and encourage idleness in the skulkers. The surgeon grinned approbation; and taking the list, began to examine the complaints of each as they could crawl to the place appointed. The first who came under his cognizance was a poor fellow just freed of a fever, which had weakened him so much, that he could hardly stand. Mr. Mackshane (for that was the doctor's name) having felt his pulse, protested that he was as well as any man in the world; and the captain delivered him over to the boatswain's mate, with orders that he should receive a round dozen at the grangway immediately for counterfeiting himself sick: but before the discipline could be executed, the man dropt down on the deck, and had well nigh perished under the hand of the executioner. The next patient to be considered laboured under a quartan ague, and being



then in his interval of breath, discovered no other symptom of distemper, than a pale meagre countenance, and emaciated body; upon which he was declared fit for duty, and returned over to the boatswain; but being resolved to disgrace the doctor, died upon the fore-castle next day, during his cold fit. The third complained of a pleuritic sticking, and spitting of blood; for which Dr. Marksham prescribed exercise at the pump to promote expectoration; but whether this was improper for one in his situation, or that it was used to excess, I know not, but in less than half an hour he was suffocated with a deluge of blood that issued from his lungs. A fourth, with much difficulty, climbed to the quarter-deck, being loaded with a monstrous ascites or dropsy, that invaded his chest so much, he could scarce fetch his breath; but his disease being interpreted into fat, occasioned by idleness and excess of eating, he was ordered, with a view to promote perspiration and enlarge his chest, to go aloft immediately: it was in vain for this unwieldy wretch to alledge his utter incapacity, the boatswain's driver was commanded to whip him up with a cat and nine tails: the smart of this application made him exert himself so much, that he actually arrived at the puttoc shrouds; but when the enormous weight of his body had nothing else to support it than his weakened arms, either out of spite or necessity, he quitted his hold and plunged into the sea, where he must have been drowned, had not a sailor, who was in the boat along-side, saved his life, by

keeping

keeping him afloat till he was hoisted on board by a tackle. It would be tedious and disagreeable to describe the fate of every miserable object that suffered by the inhumanity and ignorance of the captain and surgeon, who so wantonly sacrificed the lives of their fellow creatures. Many were brought up in the height of fevers, and rendered delirious by the injuries they received in the way. Some gave up the ghost in the presence of their inspectors, and others, who were ordered to their duty, languished a few days at work among their fellows, and then departed without any ceremony. On the whole the number of sick was reduced to less than a dozen; and the authors of this reduction applauded themselves for the services they had done to their king and country.

SMOLLET,

*Roderic Random, vol. i. ch. 27.*

**LIBERTY**

*L. Valiant.* How are you to believe this who are assured that your church is of divine institution, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. If this be true nothing can ever destroy it.

*Medroso.* Granted; but it may be reduced to almost nothing. Thus it is owing to this *thinking* that Sweden, Denmark, England, and the greater part of Germany, labour under the terrible misfortune of being no longer subject to the pope. It is even said, that if men thus continue to follow the light of their own mistaken understandings, they will be contented soon with the simple adoration of God, and the mere practice of moral virtue. If the gates of hell should prevail so far as this, what would become of the holy office?

*L. Valiant.* Had the primitive Christians thus been prohibited to think, Christianity would certainly never have been established.

*Medroso.* I do not rightly understand what you mean.

*L. Valiant.* I mean to say that if Tiberius, and the rest of the emperors, had encouraged Dominicans to prevent the primitive Christians from the use of pen and ink; nay, had not the privilege of thinking freely been long enjoyed in Rome, it would have been impossible for the Christians to have established their tenets. If, then, the first establishment of Christianity were owing to this liberty of thinking, how contradictory and absurd is, it to endeavour to destroy that basis

basis on which your church itself was first founded. If any proposal concerning your worldly interest be made to you, do you not consider some time before you adopt it? And what can be more interesting to a man in this world, than that of his eternal happiness or misery in the next? There are above an hundred different religions upon earth that condemn you and your tenets as absurd, impious, and damnable: enter into an examination therefore of those tenets.

*Medroso.* How should I be able to examine them? I am no Dominican.

*L. Valiant.* But you are a man, and that is sufficient.

*Medroso.* Alas, you are much more a man than I am.

*L. Valiant.* You have nothing to do but to learn to think. You were born with a capacity for it; and though, when a bird in the cage of the inquisition, the holy office clipt your wings, they may grow again. A man who does not understand geometry may learn it. There is nobody that cannot be in some degree instructed. It is a shame to trust our souls in the hands of those we should be afraid to trust with our money. Come, come, venture to think for yourself.

*Medroso.* But they say, that if all the world thus thought for themselves, it would be productive of great confusion.

*L. Valiant.* Quite the contrary, I assure you. Does not every one speak his mind freely of the  
enter-

entertainment of a theatre, and is the representation interrupted by it? But if any insolent protector of a bad poet should start up and insist upon the audience approving what they might dislike, what would be the consequence? They would naturally go to logger-heads, as they sometimes do at the playhouses in London. The exercise of such tyranny over the minds of men, has been productive, in a great degree, of the miseries that have fallen upon mankind. **WE HAVE BEEN HAPPY IN ENGLAND, SINCE EVERY MAN HAS BEEN AT LIBERTY TO SPEAK HIS OWN MIND.**

*Medroso.* And we are very quiet at Lisbon, where nobody is permitted to say any thing.

*L. Valiant.* You are quiet, but you are not happy. Your tranquillity is that of galley-slaves who tug the oar, and keep time in silence.

*Medroso.* Do you think then that my soul is in the gallies?

*L. Valiant.* Yes, and I would deliver you from your bondage.

*Medroso.* But what if I find myself quite at ease in the gallies?

*L. Valiant.* Nay, in that case, you deserve to continue there.

*Voltaire.*  
*Philosop. Dict. Art. Freedom of Sentiment.*

**THERE** is a most absurd and audacious method of reasoning avowed by some bigots and enthusiasts, and through fear assented to by some wiser and better men; it is this. They argue against a fair

fair discussion of popular prejudices, because, say they, though they would be found without any reasonable support, yet the discovery might be productive of the most dangerous consequences. Absurd and blasphemous notion ! as if all happiness was not connected with the practice of virtue, which necessarily depends upon the knowledge of truth ; that is, upon the knowledge of those unalterable relations which Providence has ordained that every thing should bear to every other. These relations, which are truth itself, the foundation of virtue, and consequently, the only measures of happiness, should be likewise the only measures by which we should direct our reasoning. To these we should conform in good earnest ; and not think to force nature, and the whole order of her system, by a compliance with our pride and folly, to conform to our artificial regulations. It is by a conformity to this method, we owe the discovery of the few truths we know, and the little liberty and rational happiness we enjoy. We have something fairer play than a reasoner could have expected formerly, and we derive advantages from it which are visible.

The fabrick of superstition has in this our age and nation received much ruder shocks than it had ever felt before ; and through the chinks and breaches of our prison, we see such glimmerings of light, and feel such refreshing airs of liberty, as daily raise our ardour for more. The miseries derived to mankind from superstition, under the name of religion, and of ecclesiastical tyranny, under the name of

of church government, have been clearly and usefully exposed. We begin to think and to act from reason and from nature alone. This is true of several, but still is by far the majority in the same old state of blindness and slavery, and much is it to be feared that we shall perpetually relapse while the real productive cause of all this superstitious folly, enthusiastical nonsense, and holy tyranny, holds a reverend place in the estimation even of those who are otherwise enlightened.

BURKE,

*Vindication of Natural Society, p. 7.*

CIVIL governors go miserably out of their proper province whenever they take upon them the care of truth, or the support of any doctrinal points. They are not judges of truth, and if they pretend to decide about it, they will decide wrong. It is superstition, idolatry, and nonsense, that civil power at present supports almost every where, under the idea of supporting sacred truth, and opposing dangerous error.

All the experience of past time proves that the consequence of allowing civil power to judge of the nature and tendency of doctrines, must be making it a hindrance to the progress of truth, and an enemy to the improvement of the world.—Anaxagoras was tried and condemned in Greece for teaching that the sun and stars were not deities, but masses of corruptible matter. Accusations of the like kind contributed to the death of Socrates. The threats of bigots, and the fear of persecution, prevented

prevented Copernicus from publishing, during his lifetime, his discovery of the true system of the world. Galileo was obliged to renounce the doctrine of the motion of the earth, and suffered a year's imprisonment for having asserted it. And so lately as the year 1742, the best commentary on the first production of human genius (Newton's *Principia*) was not allowed to be printed at Rome, because it asserted this doctrine; and the learned commentators were obliged to prefix to their work a declaration, that on this point they submitted to the decisions of the supreme pontiffs. Such *have* been, and such (while men continue blind and ignorant) will always be the consequence of the interposition of civil governments in matters of speculation.

## PRICE.

*Importance of Amer. Revolution, p 244*

GOVERNMENTS, no more than individual men, are infallible. The cabinets of princes, and the parliaments of kingdoms, are often less likely to be right in their conclusions than the theorist in his closet. What system of religion or government has not in its turn been patronised by national authority? The consequence therefore of admitting this authority is, not merely attributing to government a right to impose some, but any or all opinions upon the community. Are Paganism and Christianity, the religions of Mahomet, Zoroaster, and Confucius, are monarchy and aristocracy in all their forms equally worthy to be perpetuated among

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mankind?



mankind? Is it quite certain that the greatest of all human calamities is change? Have no revolution in government, and no reformation in religion, been productive of more benefit than disadvantage? There is no species of reasoning in defence of the suppression of heresy which may not be brought back to this monstrous principle, that the knowledge of truth, and the introduction of right principles of policy, are circumstances altogether indifferent to the welfare of mankind.

Reason and good sense will not fail to augur ill of that system of things which is too sacred to be looked into; and to suspect that there must be something essentially weak that thus shrinks from the eye of enquiry.

Nothing can be more unreasonable than an attempt to retain men in one common opinion by the dictate of authority. The opinion thus obtruded upon the minds of the public is not their real opinion; it is only a project by which they are rendered incapable of forming an opinion. Whenever government assumes to deliver us from the trouble of thinking for ourselves, the only consequences it produces are those of torpor and imbecility. Wherever truth stands in the mind unaccompanied by the evidence upon which it depends, it cannot properly be said to be apprehended at all. The mind is in this case robbed of its essential character, and genuine employment, and along with them must be expected to lose all that which is capable of rendering its operations salutary and admirable. Either  
mankind

mankind will resist the assumptions of authority, undertaking to superintend their opinions, and then these assumptions will produce no more than an ineffectual struggle; or they will submit, and then the effects will be injurious. He, that in any degree consigns to another the task of dictating his opinions and his conduct, will cease to inquire for himself, or his inquiries will be languid and inanimate.

Regulations will originally be instituted in favour either of falsehood or truth. In the first case no rational enquirer will pretend to allege any thing in their defence; but, even should truth be their object, yet such is their nature, that they infallibly defeat the very purpose they were intended to serve. Truth, when originally presented to the mind, is powerful and invigorating; but, when attempted to be perpetuated by political institution, becomes flaccid and lifeless. Truth in its unpatronised state improves the understanding; because in that state it is embraced only so far as it is perceived to be truth. But truth, when recommended by authority, is weakly and irresolutely embraced. The opinions I entertain are no longer properly my own; I repeat them as a lesson appropriated by vote, but I do not, strictly speaking, understand them, and I am not able to assign the evidence upon which they rest. My mind is weakened while it is pretended to be improved. Instead of the firmness of independence, I am taught to bow to authority and know not

why. Persons thus trammelled, are not, strictly speaking, capable of a single virtue. The first duty of man is, to take none of the principles of conduct upon trust; to do nothing without a clear and individual conviction that it is right to be done. He that resigns his understanding upon one particular topic, will not exercise it vigorously upon others. If he be right in any instance, it will be inadvertently and by chance. A consciousness of the degradation to which he is subjected will perpetually haunt him; or at least he will want the consciousness that accrues from independent consideration, and will therefore equally want that intrepid perseverance, that calm self-approbation that grows out of independence. Such beings are the mere dwarfs and mockery of men, their efforts comparatively pusillanimous, and the vigour with which they should execute their purposes, superficial and hollow.

Strangers to conviction, they will never be able to distinguish between prejudice and reason. Nor is this the worst. Even when the glimpses of inquiry suggest themselves, they will not dare to yield to the temptation. To what purpose inquire, when the law has told me what to believe, and what must be the termination of my inquiries? Even when opinion, properly so called, suggests itself, I am compelled, if it differ in any degree from the established system, to shut my eyes, and loudly profess my adherence where I doubt the most.

A system like this does not content itself with  
habitually

habitually unnerving the mind of the great mass of mankind through all its ranks, but provides for its own continuance, by debauching or terrifying the few individuals, who, in the midst of the general emasculation, might retain their curiosity and love of enterprise. We may judge how pernicious it is in its operation in this respect by the long reign of papal usurpation in the dark ages, and the many attacks upon it that were suppressed, previously to the successful one of Luther. Even yet how few are there that venture to examine into the foundation of Mahometanism and Christianity, in those countries where those systems are established by law.

It is a mistake to suppose that speculative differences of opinion threaten materially to disturb the peace of society. It is only when they are enabled to arm themselves with the authority of government, to form parties in the state, and to struggle for that political ascendancy which is too frequently exerted in support of, or in opposition to some particular creed, that they become dangerous. Wherever government is wise enough to maintain an inflexible neutrality, these jarring sects are always found to live together with sufficient harmony. The very means that have been employed for the preservation of order, have been the only means that have led to its disturbance. The moment government resolves to admit of no regulations oppressive to either party controversy finds its level, and appeals to arguments and reason,

son, instead of appealing to the sword or the stake. The moment government descends to wear the badge of a sect, religious war is commenced, the world is disgraced with inexpiable broils, and deluged with blood.

GODWIN.

*Political Justice, b. vi. ch. i. and iii.*

MAN has a right to think all things, speak all things, write all things, but not to impose his opinions.

MACHIAVEL.

WHAT bloodshed and confusion have been occasioned from the reign of Henry IV. when the first penal statutes were enacted, down to the Revolution in this kingdom, by laws made to force conscience! There is nothing certainly more unreasonable, more inconsistent with the rights of human nature, more contrary to the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion, more iniquitous and unjust, more impolitic, than persecution. It is against natural religion, revealed religion, and sound policy.

Sad experience, and a large mind, taught that great man, the President de Thou, this doctrine. Let any man read the many admirable things, which, though a papist, he hath dared to advance upon the subject, in the dedication of his history to Henry IV. of France, (which I never read without rapture) and he will be fully convinced, not only how cruel, but how *impolitic* it is to persecute for religious opinions.

Make

Make a law to render men incapable of offices ; make another to punish them (for it is admitted on all hands, that the defendant in the cause before your lordships is prosecuteable for taking the office upon him) : if they accept, punish ; if they refuse, punish : if they say yes, punish ; if they say no, punish. My lords, this is a most exquisite dilemma, from which there is no escape ; it is trap a man cannot get out of ; it is as bad persecution as that of Procrustes : if they are too short, stretch them ; if they are too long, lop them.

LORD MANSFIELD.

*Debates on the Case of Mr. Evans.\**

EXPERIENCE teaches that the sword, the faggot, exile, and proscriptions, are better calculated to irritate than to heal a disease, which having its source in the mind, cannot be relieved by remedies that act only on the body. The most efficacious means are sound doctrines and repeated instructions, which make a ready impression when inculcated with mildness. Every thing else bows to the sovereign authority of the magistrates and the prince ; but religion alone is not to be commanded.

What the Stoics have so vauntingly ascribed to their philosophy, religion has a higher claim to. Torments appear trivial to those who are animated by religious zeal : the firmness with which it in-

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spires

\* A Dissenter fined by the City of London for refusing to serve an office which required the taking of the sacramental test as its qualification.

spires them, deadens the sentiment of pain; nothing they are obliged to suffer for its sake, however aggravated, occasions them surprize; the knowledge of their own strength enables them to bear every thing, while they are persuaded that the grace of God supports them. Though the executioner appear before them, and exhibit to their view the sword and the stake, their minds are undaunted; and regardless of the sufferings that are preparing for them, they are attentive solely to their duty: all their happiness is in themselves, and external objects make upon them but a feeble impression.

If Epicurus, whose system has been so much decried by other philosophers, has said of the sage, that if he were shut up in the brazen bull of Phalaris, he would not fail to declare: "this fire affects me not, it is not I that burn:" do we imagine that less courage was conspicuous in those who by various torments were put to death a century ago, or that less will be displayed by future martyrs, if persecution be continued? What was said and done by one of them, when he was fastened to the stake in order to be burned, is worthy our notice. Being upon his knees, he began to sing a psalm, which the smoke and the flame could scarcely interrupt; and as the executioner, for fear of terrifying him, lighted the fire behind, he turned and said: "Come and kindle it before me: if fire could have terrified me, I should not be here; it depended on myself alone to avoid it"

DE THOU.

I AM

I AM conscious how many wars heresies have occasioned : but was it not because we were desirous of persecuting heresies ? The man who believes with sincerity, believes also with more firmness, when you would oblige him to change his creed, without at the same time convincing him, and becomes obstinate : his obstinacy kindles his zeal, his zeal inflames him. You wished to make a convert, you have made a fanatic and a madman. Men ask nothing more for their opinions than freedom : if you would take it from them, you put arms into their hands ; grant it them, they will remain tranquil, as do the Lutherans at Strasbourgh. It is then the unity of religion to which we would compel men, and not the multiplicity of opinions which we tolerate, that occasions commotions and civil wars. The Pagans tolerated every opinion, the Chinese do the same : Prussia excludes no sect, Holland includes all, and these nations have never experienced a religious war. England and France have wished to have but one religion, and London and Paris have seen the blood of their inhabitants flowing in streams.

TURGOT.

*Le Conciliateur.*

HISTORY is full of religious wars ; but we must take care to observe, it was not the multiplicity of religions that produced these wars, it was the intolerating spirit which animated that which thought she had the power of governing.

MONTESQUIEU.

*Persian Letters, let. 65.*

WHO-



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WHOSOEVER designs the change of religion in a country or government, by any other means than that of a general conversion of the people, or the greatest part of them, designs all the mischiefs to a nation that use to usher in or attend the two greatest distempers of a state, civil war or tyranny; which are violence, oppression, cruelty, rapine, intemperance, injustice; and, in short, the miserable effusion of human blood, and the confusion of all laws, orders, and virtues among men. Such consequences as these, I doubt, are something more than the disputed opinions of any man, or any particular assembly of men, can be worth.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

*Works, vol. i. p. 171.*

CHARLES the Fifth, they say, repented of having persecuted the Lutherans. He said to himself, I have thirty watches on my table, and no two of them mark precisely the same time: how could I then imagine, that in matters of religion I could make all men think alike? What folly and pride!

HELVETIUS.

*De l'Homme, vol. i. sect. iv. cb. 17.*

— To subdue th' unconquerable mind,  
To make one reason have the same effect  
Upon all apprehensions; to force this,  
Or that man, just to think, as thou and I do;  
Impossible! unless souls were alike  
In all, which differ now like human faces.

ROWLAND

*Tamerlane, act iv.*

Li.

## LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

**WITHOUT** freedom of thought there can be no such thing as wisdom, and no such thing as public liberty without freedom of speech : which is the right of every man, as far as by it he does not hurt and controul the right of another ; and this is the only check which it ought to suffer, and the only bounds which it ought to know.

Whoever would overturn the liberty of the nation must begin by subduing freedom of speech.

To do public mischief without hearing of it is the prerogative and felicity of tyranny.

All ministers therefore who were oppressors, or intended to be oppressors, have been loud in their complaints against freedom of speech, and the license of the press ; and always restrained or endeavoured to restrain both. In consequence of this they have brow-beaten writers, punished them violently and against law, and burnt their works. By all which they showed how much truth alarmed them, and how much they were at enmity with truth.

Freedom of speech produces excellent writers, and encourages men of fine genius. Tacitus tells us, that the Roman commonwealth bred great and numerous authors, but when it was enslaved those great wits were no more. Tyranny had usurped the place of equality, which is the soul of liberty,  
and

and destroyed public courage. The minds of men, terrified by unjust power, degenerated into all the vileness and methods of servitude : abject sycophancy and blind submission grew the only means of preferment, and indeed of safety ; men durst not open their mouths but to flatter.

Pliny the younger observes that this dread of tyranny had such effect, that the senate, the great Roman senate, became at last stupid and dumb. And in one of his Epistles, speaking of the works of his uncle, he makes an apology for eight of them, as not written with the same vigour which was to be found in the rest ; for that these eight were written in the reign of Nero, when the spirit of writing was cramped by fear.

GORDON.

*Cato's Letters, vol. i. No. 15.*

As long as there are such things as printing and writing, there will be libels : it is an evil arising out of a much greater good.—However it does not follow that the press is to be sunk for the errors of the press :—for it is certainly of much less consequence that an innocent man should now and then be aspersed than that all men should be enslaved.

Many methods have been tried to remedy this evil. In Turkey and the Eastern monarchies, all printing is forbid ; which does it with a witness ; for if there can be no printing at all there can be no libels printed ; and by the same reason there ought to be no talking, lest people should talk treason, blasphemy, or nonsense ; and for a stronger reason

reason yet no preaching, because the orator has an opportunity of haranguing often to a larger auditory than he can persuade to read his lucubrations : but I desire it may be remembered, that there is neither liberty, arts, sciences, learning, or knowledge in these countries.

But another method has been thought on in these Western parts of the world, much less effectual, and yet more mischievous than the former, namely, to put the press under the protection of the prevailing party, and authorise libels on one side only, and deny the other side the opportunity of defending themselves.

What mischief is done by libels to balance all these evils ? They seldom or never annoy an innocent man, or promote any considerable error. Wise and honest men laugh at them, and despise them, and such arrows always fly over their heads, or fall at their feet. Most of the world take part with a virtuous man, and punish calumny by their detestation of it. The best way to prevent libels is not to deserve them. Guilty men alone fear them, or are hurt by them, whose actions will not bear examination, and therefore must not be examined. 'Tis fact alone which annoys them ; for if you tell no truth, I dare say you may have their leave to tell as many lies as you please.

The same is true in speculative opinions. You may write nonsense and folly as long as you think fit, and no one complains of it but the bookseller. But if a bold, honest, and wise book sallies forth, and attacks those who think themselves secure in their

their trenches, then their camp is in danger, and they call out all hands to arms, and their enemy is to be destroyed by fire, sword, or fraud.\* But 'tis senseless to think that any truth can suffer by being thoroughly searched, or examined into; or that the discovery of it can prejudice right religion, equal government, or the happiness of society in any respect: she has so many advantages above error; that she wants only to be shown to gain admiration and esteem; and we see every day that she breaks the bonds of tyranny and fraud, and shines through the mists of superstition and ignorance: and what then would she do, if these barriers were removed, and her fetters taken off?

IDEM.

*Vol. i. No. 32, and vol. ii.*

ONE of the greatest blessings we enjoy, one of the greatest blessings a people can enjoy, is liberty; but every good in this life has its alloy of evil; licentiousness is the alloy of liberty; it is an ebullition, and excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, lest I destroy the body, lest I injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear. There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one, without dangerously wounding the other;

\* Every man has liberty to speak what he pleases against the people, but against a prince no man can talk without a thousand apprehensions and dangers.

MACHIAVEL.

*Discourses, b. i. ch. lviii*

other ; it is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them ; like a changeable silk, we can easily see there are two different colours, but we cannot easily discover where the one ends, or where the other begins.

We are told that Augustus, after having established his empire, restored order in Rome, by restraining licentiousness. God forbid we should in this country have order restored, or licentiousness restrained, at so dear a rate as the people of Rome paid for it to Augustus.

Let us consider that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should see its approach. The barriers and fences of the people's liberty must be plucked one by one, and some plausible pretences must be found for removing or hoodwinking, one after another, those centries who are posted by the constitution of a free country for warning the people of their danger. When these preparatory steps are once made, the people may then indeed, with regret, see slavery and arbitrary power making long strides over their land ; but it will be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin.

The stage and the press are two of our out centries ; if we remove them, if we hoodwink them, if we throw them into fetters, the enemy may surprise us.

LORD CHESTERFIELD.

*Miscel. works by Mally, vol. iv.*

It



It is apprehended, that arbitrary power would steal in upon us, were we not careful to prevent its progress, and were there not an easy method of conveying the alarm from one end of the kingdom to another. The spirit of the people must frequently be roused, in order to curb the ambition of the court, and the dread of rousing this spirit must be employed to prevent that ambition. Nothing is so effectual to this purpose as the liberty of the press, by which all the learning, wit, and genius of the nation may be employed on the side of freedom, and every one be animated to its defence. As long therefore as the republican part of our government can maintain itself against the monarchical, it will naturally be careful to keep the press open, as of importance to its own preservation.

HUME.

*Essays, vol. i. p. 23.*

It is to discussion, and consequently to the liberty of the press that the science of physics owes its improvements. Had this liberty never subsisted, how many errors, consecrated by time, would be cited as incontestible axioms! What is here said of physics, is applicable to morality and politics. If we would be sure of the truth of our opinions we should make them public. It is by the touchstone of discussion that they must be proved. The press therefore should be free. The magistrate who prevents it, opposes all improvement in morality and politics; he sins against his country, he chokes the very seeds of those happy ideas which the liberty of the press would produce. And who can  
estimate

estimate that loss ! Wherever this liberty is withheld, ignorance, like a profound darkness, spreads over the minds of men. It is then that the lovers of truth, at the same time that they seek it, fear to find it ; they are sensible that they must either conceal, basely disguise it, or expose themselves to persecution, which every man dreads.

But what whimsical opinions will not such a liberty bring forth? Be it so: these opinions, destroyed by reason as soon as produced by caprice, will effect no alteration in the tranquility of a state.

There are no specious pretexts with which hypocrisy and tyranny have not coloured their desire of imposing silence on men of discernment: and there is no virtuous citizen that can see in these pretexts any legitimate reason for remaining silent.

The publication of truth can be displeasing to those impostors only, who too frequently gaining the attention of princes, represent an enlightened people as factious and a barbarous people as docile. But what does experience teach us upon this subject? That all intelligent people are deaf to the idle declamations of fanaticism, and shocked by all acts of injustice.

When a government prohibits writing on matters of administration, it makes a vow of blindness, a vow which is common enough. As long as my finances are well regulated, and my army well disciplined, said a great prince, let who will write  
c c against

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**against**

against my discipline and my administration; but if I neglect either of these, who knows whether I should not have the weakness to compel such writers to silence.

To limit the press is to insult the nation: to prohibit the reading of certain books is to declare the inhabitants to be either fools or slaves.

Should we to destroy error compel it to silence? No. How then? Let it talk on. Error, obscure of itself, is rejected by every sound understanding. If time have not given it credit, and it be not favoured by government, it cannot bear the eye of examination. Reason will ultimately direct wherever it be freely exercised.

HELVETIUS.

*De l'Homme, vol. ii. sect. ix. ch. xii. and xiii.*

WE have the origin of book-licensing not, that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors elder or later, nor from the modern custom of any reformed city abroad; but from the most antichristian council and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb.

I am of those who believe it will be a harder alchemy than Lullius ever knew, to sublimate any good use out of such an invention.

Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets and statutes

statutes and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broad-cloth and our woolpacks.

To the pure all things are pure ; not only meats and drinks, but all kinds of knowledge whether of good or evil ; the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled.

Bad books serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate.

Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to doubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple ; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter ? Who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty ? She need no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious ; those are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power. Give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, until she be adjured into her own likeness.

To count a man not fit to print his mind, is the greatest indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man [rather than] a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula to come under

the fescu of an *imprimatur*? When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; if in this, the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, it cannot but be a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of learning.

Nor is it to the common people less a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak state of faith and discretion as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser. That this is care or love of them we cannot pretend. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of license, nor that neither: those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at doors which cannot be shut.—He who were pleasantly disposed could not avoid to liken it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate.

If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitorial rigour that hath been executed upon books.

I could recount what I have seen and heard in  
 model countries,

countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannises; when I have sat among their learned men, who did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought.

This obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation. *The punishment of wits enhances their authority, saith the Viscount St. Albans, and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.*

When God shakes a kingdom, with strong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities, and more than common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further, and go on, some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth.

If any one would write and bring his helpful hand to the slow moving reformation which we labour

labour under, if Truth have spoken to him before others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking license to do so worthy a deed; and not consider, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself, whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpalatable than many errors? And what do they vainly tell us of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others, and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at a distance.

When the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only wherewithal to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy, and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption, to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself, like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her endazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight, at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance;

diance ; while the whole noise of timorous flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light, sprung up, and yet springing daily in this city? Should ye set an *oligarchy* to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel?

Believe it, lords and commons, they who counsel you to such a suppressing of [books], do as good, bid you suppress yourselves ; and I will soon shew how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild and free and humane government. It is Liberty which is the nurse of all great wits ; this is that which hath rarified and enlightened our spirits, like the influence of heaven ; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly prising of the truth, unless you first make yourselves, who made us so, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish as you found us ; but you must first become that which you cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search  
and



and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities; yet give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties.

As good almost kill a man as kill a book : who kills a man, kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burthen to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and sift essence, the breath of reason itself, slays an immortality rather than a life.

MILTON.

*Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.*

FINIS.







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